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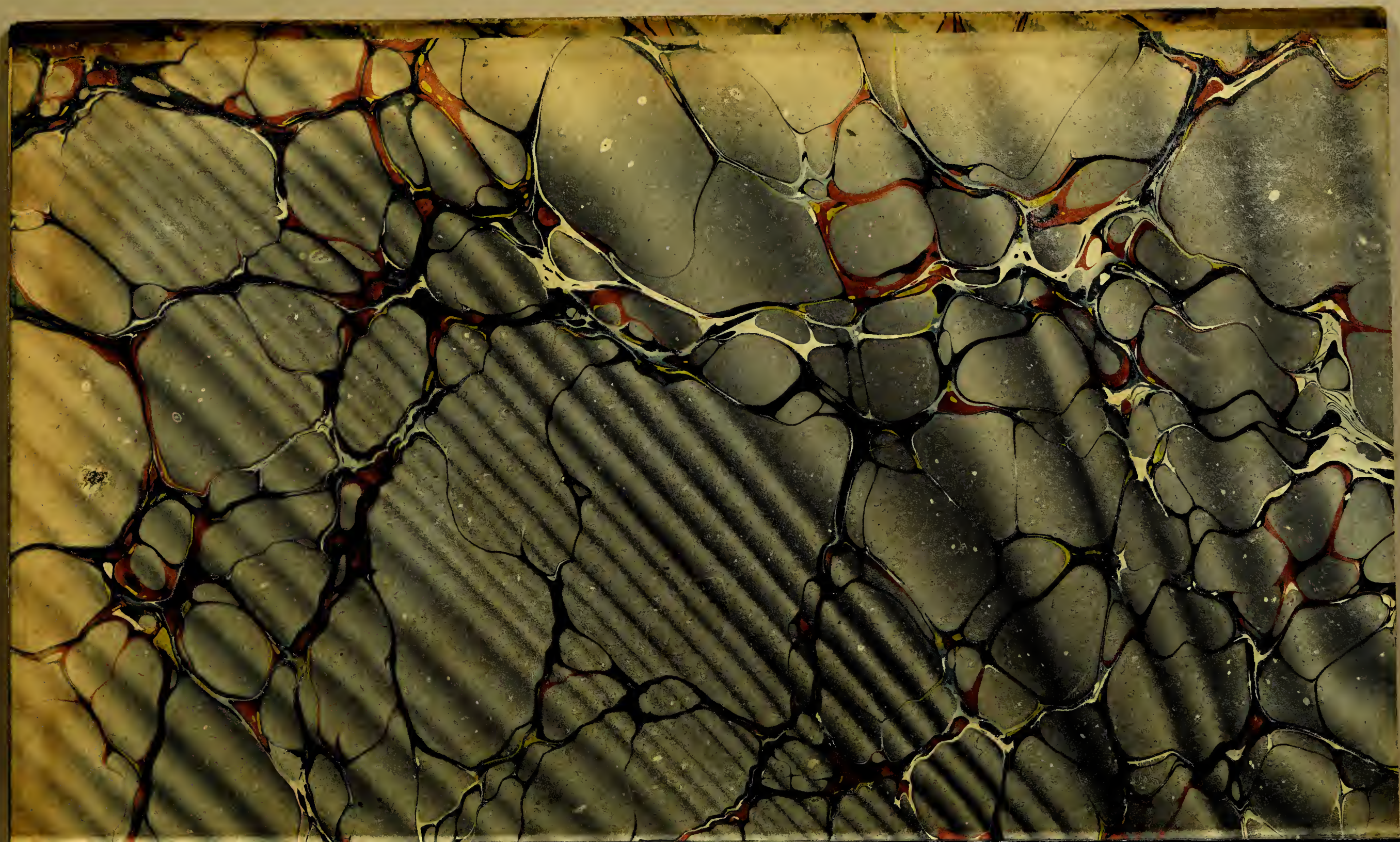

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TRAVELS

IN

AMERICA AND ITALY,

BY

VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBRIAND,

AUTHOR OF ATALA, TRAVELS IN GREECE AND PALESTINE,

THE BEAUTIES OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE nothing particular to say respecting the *Travels in America* here submitted to the reader: the narrative of them is taken, like the subject of *The Natchez*, from the original manuscript of the latter work. These *Travels* carry with them their commentary and their history.

My different works contain frequent recollections of my peregrinations in America. I thought at first to collect them and to introduce them under their proper dates into my narrative, but I relinquished this intention to avoid inserting them twice; I have therefore contented myself with referring to these passages. Some, however, I have quoted when they appeared necessary to the due understanding of the text, and were not too long.

In the *Introduction* I give a fragment of the Memoirs of my life in order to familiarize the reader with the young traveller whom he is to follow beyond sea. I have carefully corrected the part previously written; that which relates to circumstances posterior to the year 1791, and which brings us down to the present time, is entirely new.

In treating of the Spanish republics I have related (as far as my duty permitted me to relate) what I should have wished to do in behalf of those rising States, when my poli-

tical situation gave me some influence upon the destinies of nations.

I have not been so rash as to touch on this important subject before I had collected such information as I needed. A great number of printed volumes and unpublished papers have contributed to the composition of a dozen pages, I have consulted persons who have travelled and resided in the Spanish republics; and I am indebted to the kindness of the Chevalier d'Esmenard for valuable information respecting the American loans.

The *Preface* to the *Travels in America* is a sort of history of travels: it presents to the reader a general survey of geographical science, and as it were the map of the route of man upon the globe. Of my *Travels in Italy* nothing is known to the public but my letter addressed from Rome to M. de Fontanes, and a few pages relative to Vesuvius: the letters and notes which will be found appended to those papers had not yet been published. Another unpublished piece, *Five Days in Auvergne*, follows in chronological order the letters and notes on Italy. The *Visit to Mont Blanc* appeared in 1806, a few months before my departure for Greece.

To these two volumes of Travels I have added only such pieces and documents as were absolutely necessary to confirm the facts or the arguments of the text. These two volumes, with the three relative to my tour in Greece, Palestine, &c. form and complete the collection of my Travels.

PREFACE.*

SKETCH OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels are one of the sources of history: by the narratives of travellers the history of foreign nations is placed beside the particular history of each country.

Travels date as far back as the infancy of society: the books of Moses represent to us the first migrations of men. In those books we see the Patriarch driving his herds to the plains of Canaan, the Arab wandering in the sandy deserts, and the Phœnician exploring the seas.

Moses represents the second family of men issuing from the mountains of Armenia: this point is central with respect to the three great races, tawny,

* Though I have been obliged to compress an immense mass of matter into the narrow compass of a preface, I believe, nevertheless, that I have not omitted any thing essential. If, however, readers curious about researches of this kind desire further information on the subject, they may consult the erudite works of d'Anville, Robertson, Gosselin, Malte-Brun, Walckenaer, Pinkerton, Rennel, Cuvier, Jomard, &c.

black, and white—the Indians, the Negroes, and the Celts, or other nations of the north.

The pastoral nations find their progenitor in Shem, the commercial in Ham, and the military in Japhet. The Greeks and Romans designate Japetus as the father of mankind.

Homer—whether there ever existed a poet of that name, or whether the works attributed to him are but a collection of the traditions of Greece—Homer has left us in the Odyssey the narrative of a voyage. He also transmits to us the notions entertained in this remote antiquity respecting the figure of the earth. According to these notions the earth represented a disk surrounded by the river Ocean. Hesiod has the same cosmography.

Herodotus, the father of history, as Homer is the father of poetry, was, like Homer, a traveller. He traversed the whole known world of his time. How charmingly he has described the manners of nations? In those days they had but a few coasting charts of the Phœnician navigators, and Anaximander's map of the world corrected by Hecatæus: Strabo mentions an itinerary of the world by the latter.

Herodotus distinguishes only two divisions of the earth, Europe and Asia: Libya, or Africa, would seem from his accounts to be but a vast peninsula

of Asia. He gives the routes of some caravans in the interior of Libya, and the concise narrative of a voyage round Africa. An Egyptian king, Necos, sent out Phœnicians from the gulph of Arabia; these Phœnicians returned to Egypt by way of the Pillars of Hercules; they were three years in performing their voyage, and related that they had seen the sun on their right. Such is the statement of Herodotus.

The ancients had therefore, like ourselves, two sorts of travellers: the one traversed the land, the other the sea. Nearly about the time that Herodotus wrote, Hanno, the Carthaginian, accomplished his Periplus.* Something is yet extant of the collection made by Scylax of the maritime excursions of his time.

Plato has left us the romance of that Atlantis which some have conjectured to be America. Eudoxus, the fellow-traveller of the philosopher, composed a universal itinerary, in which he combined geography with astronomical observations.

Hippocrates visited the tribes of Scythia: he applied the results of his experience to the alleviation of human suffering.

Xenophon holds a conspicuous place among those

* I have given it entire in the *History of Revolutions.*

armed travellers who have contributed to make us acquainted with the world which we inhabit.

Aristotle, who outstripped the progress of knowledge, considered the earth as being spherical: he computed its circumference at four hundred thousand stadia; he believed, as Christopher Columbus afterwards did, that the coasts of Hesperia were opposite to those of India. He had a vague idea of England and Ireland, which he calls Albion and Ierne; the Alps were not unknown to him, but he confounded them with the Pyrenees.

Dicearchus, one of his disciples, wrote a charming description of Greece, some fragments of which are still extant, while another of Aristotle's disciples, Alexander the Great, carried the name of that same Greece to the banks of the Indus. The conquests of Alexander effected a revolution in the sciences as well as among nations.

Androsthenes, Nearchus, and Onesicritus, visited the southern coasts of Asia. After the death of the son of Philip, Seleucus Nicanor penetrated to the Ganges; Patroclus, one of his admirals, navigated the Indian Ocean. The Greek kings of Egypt opened a direct commerce with India and Taprobane; Ptolemy Philadelphus sent geographers and fleets to India; Timosthenes published a description

of all the known ports, and Eratosthenes furnished mathematical bases for a complete system of geography. The caravans also penetrated into India by two routes; the one, descending the Ganges, terminated at Palibothra; the other turned Mount Imaus.

Hypparchus, the astronomer, announced an extensive land as connecting India with Africa: this you may consider if you please as the world discovered by Columbus.

The rivalry of Rome and Carthage made Polybius a traveller, and caused him to visit the coast of Africa as far as Mount Atlas, that he might make himself better acquainted with the people whose history he purposed to write. Eudoxus of Cyzicus endeavoured, during the reigns of Ptolemy Physcon and Ptolemy Lathures, to make the tour of Africa by the west; he also sought a more direct route from the ports of the Arabian Gulph to those of India.

Meanwhile the Romans removed other veils by extending their conquests toward the north. Pythias of Marseilles had already reached those shores whence the destroyers of the empire of the Cæsars were to issue. Pythias sailed as far as the seas of Scandinavia, fixed the position of the Sacred Cape

and of Cape Calbium (Finisterre) in Spain, visited the island of Uxisama (Ushant), that of Albion, one of the Cassiterides of the Carthaginians, and pushed on to the famous Thule, which some will have to be Iceland, but which, according to all appearance, is the coast of Jutland.

Julius Cæsar elucidated the geography of the Gauls, and commenced the discovery of Germany and the coast of the isle of the Britons: Germanicus carried the Roman eagles to the banks of the Elbe.

During the reign of Augustus, Strabo combined together in one work the information left by preceding travellers and that which he had himself acquired. But, if his geography throws new light upon some part of the globe, on other points he makes the science retrograde. Strabo distinguishes the Cassiterides from Great Britain, and he appears to believe that the former, (which, in his hypothesis, can be no other than the Scilly islands) produced tin; now, the tin was extracted from the mines of Cornwall; and long before the Greek geographer wrote, the tin of Albion had been imported by way of Gaul into the Roman world.

In Gaul or Celtica, Strabo nearly suppresses the Armorican peninsula; he knows nothing of the Baltic, though it was already regarded as a large salt

lake, along which was the coast of Yellow Amber, the modern Prussia.

At the period in which Strabo flourished, Hyppalus fixed the navigation of India by the Gulph of Arabia, by trying the regular winds which we call monsoons; one of these winds, the south-west, that which wafted him to India, assumed the name of Hyppalian. Roman fleets sailed regularly from the port of Berenice about the middle of summer, arrived in thirty days at the port of Ocelis, or at that of Cané in Arabia, and thence in forty days at Muziris, the first mart of India. The return in winter was accomplished in the same space of time; so that the ancients were less than five months in going to India and returning from it. Pliny and the Periplus of the Eythrean Sea (in the minor geographers) furnish these curious details.

After Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, Pomponius Mela, Isidorus of Charax, and Pliny, add to the knowledge previously acquired concerning foreign nations. Pliny, in particular, is valuable for the number of voyages and relations which he quotes. In reading his work, we see that we have lost a complete description of the Roman empire, compiled by command of Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus; that we have likewise lost commentaries on Africa by

king Juba, extracted from Carthaginian books; that we have lost an account of the Fortunate Islands by Statius Sebosus, Memoirs on India by Seneca, and a Periplus of Polybius, the historian; losses that must ever be regretted. Pliny knows something of Tibet; he fixes the easternmost part of the world at the mouth of the Ganges; towards the north he has a glimpse of the Orkneys; he is acquainted with Scandinavia, and gives to the Baltic Sea the name of the Codan Gulph.

The ancients had both maps of routes and a sort of books of posts; Veges distinguishes the former by the epithet of *picta*, and the latter by that of *annotata*. Three of these itineraries are still extant: the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, the *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, and the *Table of Peutinger*. The top of this table, which began at the west, has been torn; the Spanish peninsula is wanting, as well as western Africa; but the table extends eastward to the mouth of the Ganges, and exhibits the routes in the interior of India. This map is twenty-one feet long, and about a foot wide; it is a zone, or a high road of the ancient world.

Such was the extent of the labours and knowledge of travellers and geographers before the appearance of Ptolemy's work. Homer's world was a perfectly

circular island, surrounded, as we have said, by the river Ocean. Herodotus makes this world a plain without any precise limits. Eudoxus of Gnidus transformed it into a globe about thirteen thousand stadia in diameter; Hipparchus and Strabo gave to it a circumference of two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia, of eight hundred and thirty-three stadia to a degree. On this globe was marked a parallelogram, the longer side of which ran from west to east; this parallelogram was divided by two lines, which intersected each other at right angles: the one, called the diaphragm, marked the length or *longitude* of the earth from west to east; it was seventy-seven thousand eight hundred stadia long; and the other, shorter by one half, indicated the width or *latitude* of this earth from north to south. The calculations are made from the meridian of Alexandria. From this geography, which represented the earth as being much longer than broad, we see how we came by those improper terms *longitude* and *latitude*.

In this map of the inhabited world were placed Europe, Asia, and Africa; Africa and Asia were joined to the austral regions, or were separated by a sea which very much shortened the former. In the north, the continents terminated at the mouth of

the Elbe; in the south, about the banks of the Niger; in the west, at the Sacred Cape, in Spain; and in the east, at the mouths of the Ganges; under the equator a torrid zone, under the poles a frigid zone, were reputed uninhabitable.

It is curious to remark, that almost all the nations called Barbarians, who conquered the Roman empire, and from whom the modern nations are descended, dwelt beyond the limits of the world known to Pliny and Strabo; in countries the very existence of which was not suspected.

Ptolemy, though he fell into important errors, nevertheless gave mathematical bases to the position of places. In his work a considerable number of Sarmatian nations made their appearance. He clearly indicates the Wolga, and again descends to the Vistula.

In Africa he confirms the existence of the Niger, and perhaps his Tucabath may also mean Tombuctoo; he also mentions a large river which he calls Gyr.

In Asia, his country of the Sines is not China, but probably the kingdom of Siam. Ptolemy supposes that the continent of Asia stretches southward till it joins an unknown land, which land is united towards the west with Africa. In the Serica

of this geographer we cannot but recognize Tibet, which furnished Rome with the first raw silk.

With Ptolemy ends the history of the travels of the ancients, and Pausanias is the last who exhibits to us that antique Greece, the spirit of which has nobly roused itself in our days at the call of a new civilization. The barbarous nations appear; the Roman empire crumbles to pieces; and from the race of the Goths, Franks, Huns, and Sclavonians, issue another world and other travellers.

These nations were themselves vast armed caravans, which set out from the rocks of Scandinavia and the frontiers of China to discover the Roman empire. They came to teach these pretended masters of the world, that there were other men besides the slaves subject to the yoke of the Tiberiuses and the Neroes; they came to make the geographers of the Tiber acquainted with their country: the latter could not avoid placing these nations on the map; they could not help believing the existence of the Goths and Vandals, when Alaric and Genseric had inscribed their names on the walls of the Capitol. It is not my intention to describe here the migrations and settlements of these Barbarians; I shall merely seek among the ruins which they heaped up

the links of the chain which connects the ancient travellers with the travellers of modern times.

An extraordinary derangement took place in geographical investigations, in consequence of the derangement of nations. What the ancients have furnished us with the best account of, was the country which they themselves inhabited; beyond the limits of the Roman empire all was to them deserts and darkness. After the invasion of the Barbarians, we know scarcely any thing of Greece and Italy, but we begin to penetrate the countries which produced the destroyers of ancient civilization.

Three causes revived travels among the nations established on the ruins of the Roman world: religious zeal, desire of conquest, and a spirit of adventure and enterprise, mixed with the greediness of commerce.

Religious zeal led the earliest as well as the latest missionaries into the most distant countries. Before the fourth century, and almost in the time of the Apostles, who were themselves pilgrims, the priests of the true God carried the torch of the faith into all quarters. While the blood of the martyrs flowed in the amphitheatres, ministers of peace preached mercy to the avengers of the Christian sufferers: the con-

querors were already in part conquered by the Gospel, when they arrived under the walls of Rome.

The works of the fathers of the Church mention a great number of pious travellers. They are a mine which has not been sufficiently wrought, and which, merely with reference to the geography and history of nations, contains rich treasures.

So early as the fifth century of our era, an Egyptian monk traversed Ethiopia and composed a topography of the Christian world; and an Armenian, named Chorenenzis, wrote a geographical work. The historian of the Goths, Jornandes, bishop of Ravenna, in his history and in his book *De Origine Mundi*, records in the sixth century important particulars respecting the northern and eastern countries of Europe. Warnfrid, the deacon, published a history of the Lombards; another Goth, the anonymous writer of Ravenna, produced, a century later, a general description of the world. St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, sent to the Pope a kind of memorial respecting the people of Sclavonia. The Poles appeared for the first time during the reign of Otho II. in the eight books of the valuable Ditmar Chronicle. St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, at the invitation of a Spanish hermit, named Bernard, travelled through Prussia, preaching the

faith. Otho saw the Baltic, and was astonished at the magnitude of that sea. We have unfortunately lost the journal of travels in Sweden and Denmark, performed, under Louis le Debonnaire, by Anscaire, a monk of Corbie; unless this journal, which was sent to Rome in 1260, should still exist in the Vatican library. From this work Adam of Bremen has derived part of his own account of the kingdoms of the North; he makes mention moreover of Russia, the capital of which was Kiow, though in the *Sagas* the empire of Russia is called Gardavike, and Holmgard, the present Novogorod, is designated as the principal city of that nascent empire.

Giraldus Barry and Dicuil have, the one drawn a picture of the principality of Wales and Ireland during the reign of Henry II.; and the other returned to the examination of the measures of the Roman empire under Theodosius.

We have maps of the middle ages; a topographical delineation of all the provinces of Denmark about the year 1231, seven maps of the kingdom of England and the neighbouring islands in the twelfth century, and the famous book known by the name of Domesday Book, undertaken by command of William the Conqueror. In this statistical survey we find a register of the cultivated, inhabited, and

waste lands of England; the number of free inhabitants and serfs, and even that of the cattle and bee-hives. On these maps are rudely drawn the towns and abbeys: if, on the one hand, these designs are prejudicial to geographical details, they afford on the other some idea of the arts of that time.

The pilgrimages to the Holy Land form a considerable part of the graphic monuments of the middle ages. They took place so early as the fourth century, since St. Jerome asserts, that pilgrims came to Jerusalem from India, Ethiopia, Britain, and Hibernia: it appears even that the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem was composed about the year 333 for the use of the pilgrims from Gaul.

The first years of the sixth century present us with the Itinerary of Antoninus of Placentia. After Antoninus comes in the seventh century St. Arculf, of whom Adamannus wrote an account; in the eighth century we have two narratives of travels to Jerusalem, that of St. Wilibald, and an account of the holy places by the Venerable Bede; in the ninth century, Bernard Lemoine; in the tenth and eleventh, Olderic, bishop of Orleans, Eugisippus the Greek; and lastly, Peter the Hermit.

Then commence the Crusades; Jerusalem remained in the hands of French princes eighty-eight

years. After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the faithful continued to visit Palestine, and from Phocas in the thirteenth century to Pococke in the eighteenth, pilgrimages succeed each other without interruption.*

We see those traveller-historians of whom antiquity presented models, re-appearing with the crusades. Raymond d'Agiles, canon of the cathedral of Puy en Velay, accompanied the celebrated bishop Adhemar to the first crusade. Having become chaplain to the count of Toulouse, he wrote, with Pons de Balazun, a valiant knight, an account of all that he had witnessed by the way and at the taking of Jerusalem. Raoul de Caen, a faithful servant of Tancred's, relates the life of that knight; and Robert Lemoine was present at the siege of Jerusalem.

Sixty years later, Foulcher de Chartres and Odon de Deuil likewise went to Palestine; the former with Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, the latter with Louis VII. king of France. Jacques de Vitry became bishop of St. Jean d'Acre.

William of Tyre, who flourished towards the end of the kingdom of Jerusalem, passed his life on the

* See the second Memoir in the Introduction to my "*Travels in Greece, &c.*"

roads of Europe and Asia. Several writers of our ancient chronicles were either monks and itinerant prelates, as Raoul, Glaber, and Flodoard, or warriors, as Nithard, grandson of Charlemagne, William of Poitiers, Ville Hardouin, Joinville, and many others who relate their distant expeditions. Pierre Devaulx Cernay was a kind of hermit in the terrible camps of Simon de Montfort.

Once arrived at the chronicles in the vulgar tongue, we ought particularly to notice Froissart, who wrote, properly speaking, nothing but his own travels: it was almost on horseback that he penned his history. He passed from the court of the king of England to that of the king of France, and from the latter to the little chivalrous court of the counts of Foix. "When I had sojourned in the city of Paumiers three days, there came to me by chance a knight of the count of Foix who was returning from Avignon, the which was named Messire Espaing du Lyon, a brave man, and a prudent and comely knight, who might then be about fifty years of age. I joined his company, and we were six days by the way. In riding along, the said knight (for he had said his prayers in the morning) chatted most of the day with me, enquiring the news; and

so when I asked him in like manner he answered me." We see Froissart arriving at great inns, dining nearly at the same hours that we dine, going to the bath, &c. The careful perusal of the travels of that period leads me to believe that the domestic civilization of the fourteenth century was infinitely more advanced than we imagine it to have been.

Turning back to the moment of the invasion of civilized Europe by the nations of the North, we find Arabian voyagers and geographers exploring in the Indian seas shores unknown to the ancients: they made highly important discoveries in Africa also. Massudi, Ibn-Haukal, Al-Edrisi, Ibn-Alouardi, Hamdoollah, Abulfeda, El-Bakooi, give very circumstantial descriptions of their own country and of the country subdued by the arms of the Arabs. They saw in the north of Asia a frightful country, surrounded by an enormous wall and a castle of Gog and Magog. About the year 715, under the caliph Walid, the Arabs were acquainted with China, whither they sent merchants and ambassadors by land; they penetrated to that country by sea also in the ninth century. Wahab and Abuzaid landed at Canton. So early as the year 850 the Arabs had a commercial agent in the province of that name; they traded with some towns in the

interior, and, strange to tell, they there met with christian communities.

The Arabs gave to China several names: Cathay comprised the northern provinces, Tchin, or Sin, the southern. Entering India under the protection of their arms, the disciples of Mahomet speak in their descriptions of the beautiful valleys of Cachemire as pertinently as of the voluptuous valleys of Grenada. They had thrown colonies into several islands of the Indian Ocean, as Madagascar and the Moluccas, where the Portuguese found them after they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

While the military merchants of Asia were making in the east and south discoveries unknown to Europe, overrun by barbarians, such of those barbarians as remained in their original country, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Danes, set about, in the north and west, other discoveries alike unknown to Frankish and German Europe. Other, the Norwegian, penetrated to the White Sea, and Wulfstan, the Dane, described the Baltic Sea, which Eginhard had already described, and which was called by the Scandinavians *the Salt Lake of the East*. Wulfstan relates that the Estians, or people dwelling to the east of the Vistula, drank the milk

of their mares, like the Tartars, and bequeathed their property to the best horseman of their tribe.

King Alfred has transmitted to us an abridgment of these accounts. He it was who first divided Scandinavia into provinces, or kingdoms, as they still subsist. In the Gothic languages Scandinavia bore the name of *Mannaheim*, which signifies *the land of men*, and which the Latin of the sixth century has energetically rendered in the words *officina gentium*, the manufactory of mankind.

The Norman pirates established in Ireland the colonies of Dublin, Ulster, and Connaught; they explored and subjected the Shetland Islands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides; they advanced to the Fero Islands, to Iceland, which became the archives of the history of the north, to Greenland, which was then habitable and inhabited; and lastly, perhaps to America. We shall treat hereafter of this discovery, and also of the voyage and map of the two brothers Zeni.

But the empire of the caliphs was overthrown: out of its ruins were formed several monarchies: the kingdom of the Aglabites, and subsequently of the Fatimites in Egypt, and the despotisms of Algiers, Fez, Tripoli, and Morocco, on the coast of Africa. The Turcomans, converted to Islamism,

subdued western Asia from Syria to mount Casbhar. The Ottoman power passed over into Europe, swept away the last traces of the Roman name, and pushed its conquests beyond the Danube.

Gengis Khan appeared; Asia was overrun, and again subjugated. Oktai Khan destroyed the kingdom of the Cumanes and the Nioutchis; Mangu possessed himself of the caliphat of Bagdad; Kublai Khan conquered China and part of India. From this Mongol empire, which reduced almost the whole of Asia under one and the same yoke, have arisen almost all the Khanats found by the Europeans in India.

The European princes, alarmed by these Tartars, who had extended their ravages to Poland, Silesia and Hungary, sought to make themselves acquainted with the countries where such prodigious movements originated: popes and kings sent ambassadors to these new Scourges of God. Ascelin, Carpin, Rubruquis, penetrated into the country of the Mongols. Rubruquis found that Caracorum, the chief city of this Khan, the sovereign of Asia, was about as large as the village of St. Denis: it was surrounded by a mud wall, and contained two mosques and a Christian church.

There were itineraries of Great Tartary for the

use of the missionaries: André Lusimel preached christianity to the Mongols; Ricold de Monte Crucis also penetrated into Tartary.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela left an account of all that he saw or heard concerning the three parts of the world (1160).

Lastly, Marco Polo, a Venetian noble, was for twenty-six years incessantly travelling in Asia. He was the first European that penetrated into China, India beyond the Ganges, and some of the islands of the Indian Ocean (1271-95). His work became the manual of all the merchants in Asia and of all the geographers in Europe.

Marco Polo speaks of Pekin and Nankin; he names also a city of Quinsaï as the largest in the world: there were reckoned to be twelve thousand bridges over the canals which ran through it, and the daily consumption of pepper there amounted to ninety-four quintals. The Venetian traveller makes mention in his accounts of porcelain, but he says nothing of tea. It was he who made us acquainted with Bengal, Japan, the island of Borneo, and the Chinese sea, in which he calculates that there are seven thousand four hundred and forty islands rich in spices.

These Tartar or Mongol princes, who swayed

Asia and overran some provinces of Europe, were not princes destitute of merit: they neither sacrificed their prisoners nor reduced them to slavery. Their camps were filled with European artisans, missionaries, and travellers, who even held important posts under their government. It was easier to penetrate into their empire than into those feudal countries where an abbot of Clugny regarded the environs of Paris as a region so remote and so unknown that he durst uot venture to repair thither.

Marco Polo was followed by Pegoletti, Oderic, Mandeville, Clavijo, Josaphat, Barbaro: they completed the description of Asia. At that time people frequently travelled by land to Pekin; the expenses of the journey amounted to three hundred or three hundred and fifty ducats. China had then a paper-money, called *babisci* or *balis*.

The Genoese and the Venetians traded with India and China in caravans by two different routes: Pegoletti marks with the utmost detail the stations of one of these routes (1353). In 1312 we find at Pekin a bishop, named John de Monte Corvino.

Meanwhile time passed on: civilization made rapid progress: discoveries owing to chance or to the genius of man for ever separated the modern ages from the ages of antiquity, and stamped new

generations with a new seal. The mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing, were invented to guide the navigator, to defend him, and to preserve the cords of his perilous expeditions.

The Greeks and Romans had been bred on the shores of that extensive inland water which is more like a vast lake than an ocean. The empire having passed into the hands of Barbarians, the centre of the political power became fixed principally in Spain, in France, and in England, in the vicinity of that Atlantic, which, toward the west, washed unknown shores. It therefore behoved mariners to brave the long nights and the tempests, to pay no regard to seasons, to sail out of port in the days of winter as well as in those of summer, and to build ships, the strength of which was proportionate to that of the new Neptune which they had to encounter.

We have already adverted to the bold enterprizes of those pirates of the north, who, according to the expression of a panegyrist, seemed to have seen the bottom of the abyss disclosed. In another quarter the republics formed in Italy out of the ruins of Rome and the relics of the kingdoms of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, had continued and perfected the ancient navigation of the Mediterranean.

The Venetian and Genoese fleets had carried the crusaders to Egypt, Palestine, Constantinople, and Greece; and they had gone to Alexandria and the Black Sea to fetch the rich productions of India.

The Portuguese at length pursued into Africa the Moors, who were already expelled from the banks of the Tagus. Ships were required to follow and to subsist the combatants along the coast. The pilots were long stopped by Cape Nunez; Jilianez doubled it in 1433; the island of Madeira was discovered or rather found again; the Azores emerged from the bosom of the deep, and as people were still persuaded with Ptolemy that Asia approximated to Africa, they took the Azores for the islands, which, according to Marco Polo, bordered Asia in the Indian Ocean. It was asserted that an equestrian statue, pointing with its finger to the west, had been seen on the shore of the isle of Corvo: and some Phœnician coins have also been brought from that island.

From Cape Nunez the Portuguese pushed on to Senegal; they successively reached the Cape de Verd islands, the coast of Guinea, Cape Mesurado, Benin, and Congo. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz arrived at the famous Cape of Storms, which soon received a more propitious appellation.

Thus was discovered that southern extremity of

Africa, which, according to the Greek and Roman geographers, was joined to Asia. There opened mysterious regions, which none had ever yet entered but by that sea of prodigies which beheld God and fled: *mare vidit et fugit.*

"An immense frightful phantom stood before us: his attitude was menacing, his look ferocious, his complexion pale, his beard bushy and muddy, his hair covered with slime and gravel, his teeth black, his lips livid: his sparkling eyes rolled beneath thick brows. . . . .

"He spoke: his awful voice seemed to issue from the depths of the abyss.

"I am the Spirit of Storms," said he; "I animate this vast promontory which neither Ptolemy nor Strabo, neither Pliny, Pomponius, nor any of your men of science ever knew. Here I bound the continent of Africa by that mountain which looks towards the Antarctic Pole, and which, heretofore veiled from the eyes of mortals, feels at this moment indignant at your audacity.

"With my parched flesh, with my bones converted into rocks, the gods, the inflexible gods, have formed the vast promontory which overlooks this boundless deep. . . . .

"At these words he shed a torrent of tears and

disappeared. With him the murky cloud rolled away, and Ocean seemed to heave a long sigh."*

Vasco de Gama, at the conclusion of an everlastingly memorable voyage, landed in 1498 at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.

Every thing on the globe was now changed; the world of the ancients was destroyed. The Indian sea was no longer an inland sea, a basin surrounded by the coast of Asia and Africa; it was an ocean, connected on the one hand with the Atlantic, on the other with the sea of China and an Eastern Ocean of still greater extent. A hundred civilized kingdoms, Arab or Indian, Mahometan or idolatrous, isles embalmed with fragrant spices, were revealed to the people of the West. A wholly new nature was displayed; the curtain which for thousands of years had concealed part of the world was withdrawn; the strangers discovered the land of the Sun, the abode whence he issues every morning to dispense light; they beheld unveiled that wise and resplendent East, the history of which mingles in our minds with the voyages of Pythagoras, the conquests of Alexander, the recollection of the Cru-

* *The Lusiad.*

sades, and the perfumes of which come to us across the plains of Arabia and the seas of Greece. Europe sent a poet to salute, to sing, and to delineate it—a noble ambassador, whose genius and fortune seem to have had a secret sympathy with the regions and the destinies of the people of India! The poet of the Tagus raised his plaintive and melodious voice on the banks of the Ganges; he borrowed of them their lustre, their renown, and their misfortunes; he left them nothing but their wealth.

And it was a petty nation, cooped up by a circle of mountains at the westernmost extremity of Europe, that opened the way to the most splendid portion of the abode of man!

And it was another nation of the same peninsula, a nation that had not yet attained the greatness from which it is fallen; it was a poor Genoese pilot, long repulsed by every court; who discovered a new world at the gates of the West, at the moment when the Portuguese were landing in the fields of Aurora.

Had the ancients any knowledge of America?

Homer placed elysium in the western sea beyond the Cimmerian darkness: was this the world of Columbus?

The tradition of the Hesperides, and afterwards of the *Fortunate Islands*, succeeded that of elysium. The Romans regarded the Canaries as the Fortunate Islands; but destroyed not the belief in the existence of a still more remote country in the west.

Every body has heard of Plato's Atlantis: it was supposed to be a continent more extensive than Asia and Africa put together, situate in the western ocean opposite to the strait of Gades—the precise position of America. As to the flourishing cities, the ten kingdoms governed by kings the offspring of Neptune, &c. the imagination of Plato may have added these details to the Egyptian traditions. The Atlantis, it is related, was engulphed in a day and a night by the waves. This was an easy way of getting rid at once of the accounts of the Phœnician navigators and the romances of the Greek philosopher.

Aristotle speaks of an island so replete with charms, that the senate of Carthage forbade its seamen to frequent the neighbouring seas upon penalty of death. Diodorus gives us the history of a considerable and remote island, to which the Carthaginians had resolved to remove the seat of their empire, if they experienced any disaster in Africa.

What is the Panchæa of Evhemerus, denied by Strabo and Plutarch, described by Diodorus and Pomponius Mela, a large island situated in the ocean to the south of Arabia, an enchanted island where the phœnix built its nest on the altar of the sun?

According to Ptolemy the extremities of Asia joined an *unknown land*, which was connected with Africa in the west.

Almost all the geographical records of antiquity indicate a southern continent: I cannot coincide in the opinion of those scholars who perceive in this continent nothing more than a systematic counterpoise, imagined to balance the northern regions. This continent was, no doubt, well adapted to fill a vacant space on the map, but it is also very possible that it was delineated there as the relic of a confused tradition. Its position to the south of the rose of the winds, rather than to the west, would be a trifling error among the enormous transpositions of the geographies of antiquity.

The last indications left are the statues and Phœnician medals of the Azores, if, however, the statues are not mere graphic ornaments attached to the old maps of that archipelago.

Since the downfall of the Roman empire, and the

re-construction of society by the Barbarians, have ships reached the coasts of America before those of Columbus?

It appears indubitable that the rude explorers of the ports of Norway and the Baltic reached North America in the first year of the eleventh century. They had discovered the Fero Islands about the year 861, Iceland from 860 to 872, Greenland in 892, and perhaps fifty years earlier. In 1001 an Icelander named Biorn, on his passage to Greenland, was driven by a tempest to the south-west, and fell in with a low land quite covered with wood. On reaching Greenland he related his adventure. Leif, son of Eric Rauda, founder of the Norwegian colony of Greenland, embarked with Biorn; they sought and found the coast seen by the latter: they gave the name of Helleland to a rocky island, and that of Marcland to a sandy shore. Hurried away to a second coast, they ascended a river, and wintered on the border of a lake. Here, on the shortest day of the year, the sun was eight hours above the horizon. A German seaman in the service of the two chiefs showed them some wild vines. Biorn and Leif, on quitting this country, gave it the name of Winland.

Thenceforward Winland was frequented by the

Greenlanders, and there they trafficked with the Savages for furs. In 1121 Bishop Eric went from Greenland to Winland to preach the gospel to the natives.

From these particulars it is obvious that the country in question must be some part of North America, about the 49th degree of latitude, since the travellers took notice that on the shortest day of the year the sun was eight hours above the horizon. At the 49th degree of latitude they would come to the mouth of the St. Laurence, or thereabout. The same degree would also bring them to the northern part of the island of Newfoundland. There are to be found several small rivers which communicate with numerous lakes in the interior of the island.

Nothing further is known respecting Leif, Biorn, and Eric. The most ancient authority for the circumstances relative to them is the collection of the Annals of Iceland by Hauk, who wrote in 1300, consequently three hundred years after the real or supposed discovery of Winland.

The brothers Zeni, Venetians, who entered into the service of a chief of the islands of Fero and Shetland, are conjectured to have visited the Win-

land of the ancient Greenlanders afresh about 1380: a map and account of their voyage are extant. The map exhibits, to the south of Iceland and to the north-east of Scotland, between the 61st and 65th degrees of north latitude, an island called Friesland: to the west of this island, and to the south of Greenland, at the distance of nearly four hundred leagues, this map indicates two coasts, by the names of Estotiland and Droceo. Some fishermen of Friesland, says the narrative, being cast on Estotiland, found there a well built and very populous town; in this town there was a king and an interpreter who spoke Latin.

The shipwrecked Frieslanders were sent by the king of Estotiland to a country lying to the south, which country was called Droceo, where they were devoured by cannibals, one alone excepted. This man returned to Estotiland, after having been a long time a slave in Droceo, a country which he represented as being of immense extent; in fact, a *new world.*

Estotiland could scarcely be any other than the ancient Winland of the Norwegians; this Winland must be Newfoundland. In this case the town of Estotiland would present the remnant of the Nor-

wegian colony, and the country of Droceo or Drogeo would be New England.

It is certain that Greenland was discovered so early as the middle of the tenth century; it is certain that the south point of Greenland approximates very closely to the coast of Labrador; it is certain that the Esquimaux, placed between the nations of Europe and those of America, seem to resemble the former more than the latter; it is certain that they could have shown the first Norwegian settlers in Greenland the route to the new continent: but still too many fables and uncertainties are mingled with the adventures of the Norwegians and the brothers Zeni, for us to wrest from Columbus the glory of having been the first who landed on the American shores.

The chart of the navigation of the two Zeni and the narrative of their voyage, executed in 1380, were not published till 1558, by a descendant of Nicolo Zeno, at which date the prodigies of Columbus were universally known: national jealousies might induce some persons to claim an honour which certainly was worthy of envy; the Venetians claimed Estotiland for Venice, as the Norwegians did Winland for Berghen.

Several charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth

century exhibit discoveries made or to be made in the great ocean to the south-west and west of Europe. According to the Genoese historians, Doria and Vivaldi sailed with the intention of proceeding to India in a western direction, but they never returned. The island of Madeira appears on a Spanish chart of the year 1384, by the name of *Isola di Leguame*. The Azores also make their appearance so early as 1380. Lastly, a chart drawn in 1436 by Andrea Bianco, a Venetian, lays down a land called *Antilla*, to the west of the Canary islands, and to the north of this Antilla is another island named *Isola de la Man Satanaxio*.

It has been insisted that these islands were the Antilles and Newfoundland: but we know that Marco Polo prolonged Asia to the south-west, and placed before it an Archipelago, which, approaching our continent on the west, must have been nearly in the same position with regard to us as America. It was in seeking these Indian Antilles, these West Indies, that Columbus discovered America, and thus a prodigious error gave birth to a miraculous truth.

The Arabs have some pretension to the discovery of America: the Almagrabins, brothers, of Lisbon,

penetrated, we are told, to the most remote regions of the west. An Arabic manuscript gives an account of an unsuccessful attempt made in these regions, where all was sky and water.

Let us not dispute with a great man the work of his genius. Who can tell what were the feelings of Christopher Columbus, when, having crossed the Atlantic, when, amidst a mutinous crew, when, on the point of returning to Europe without having accomplished the object of his voyage, he perceived a faint light on an unknown land, which the darkness of night concealed from his view. The flight of birds had guided him towards America; the flame of the fire of a Savage discovered to him a new world. Columbus must have experienced somewhat of that sentiment which the Scripture attributes to the Creator, when, after calling forth the earth from nothing, he saw that his work was good: *Vidit Deus quod esset bonum.* Columbus created a world. The rest is known: the immortal Genoese gave not his name to America; he was the first European who recrossed in chains that Ocean, the expanse of which he had first measured. When glory is of such a nature as to be serviceable to mankind it is almost always punished.

While the Portuguese were coasting the king-

doms of Quiloa, Sofala, Mosambique, and Melinda, imposing tribute on the kings of the Moors, penetrating into the Red Sea, completing the circumnavigation of Africa, visiting the Persian Gulph and the two Peninsulas of India, ploughing the China seas, touching at Canton, reconnoitring Japan, the Spice Islands, and even the shores of New Holland, a multitude of navigators followed the track steered by Columbus. Cortes overthrew the empire of Mexico, and Pizarro that of Peru. The conquerors marched from surprise to surprise, and were themselves not the least astonishing thing in their adventures. On reaching the last waves of the Atlantic, they conceived that they had explored all the seas, and from the tops of the mountains of Panama they descried a second Ocean which covered half the globe. Nunez Balboa descended to the beach, waded into the water up to his waist, and, drawing his sword, took possession of that sea in the name of the king of Spain.

The Portuguese were then exploring the coasts of India and China: the companions of Vasco de Gama and Christopher Columbus saluted one another from the two shores of the unknown sea which separated them: the one had found again an ancient world, the others discovered a new world;

from the coast of America to the coast of Asia the strains of Camoens responded to those of Ercylla, across the solitudes of the Pacific Ocean.

John and Sebastian Cabot gave to England North America; Cortereal surveyed Newfoundland, named Labrador, and observed the entrance to Hudson's Bay, which he called the Strait of Anian, and by which hopes were entertained of finding a passage to the East Indies. Jacques Cartier, Vorazani, Ponce de Leon, Walter Raleigh, and Ferdinand de Soto, examined and colonized Canada, Acadia, Virginia, and the Floridas. The Dutch, pushing on to Spitzbergen, left far behind them the limits fixed for the problematical Thule; and Hudson and Baffin penetrated into the bays which bear their names.

The islands of the Mexican Gulph were placed in their mathematical positions. Americus Vespucius had made a delineation of the coasts of Guiana, Terra Firma, and Brazil; Solis found Rio de la Plata; Magellan, entering the strait named after him, penetrated into the great Ocean, and was slain in the Philippines. His ship arrived in India by the West, returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, and thus was the first that completed the circumnavigation of the globe. The voyage occupied

eleven hundred and eighty-four days: it can now be performed in the space of eight months.

It was still believed that the Strait of Magellan was the only outlet to the Pacific Ocean, and that to the south of this strait the land of America joined a southern continent. Francis Drake first, and Shouten and Lemaire afterwards, doubled the southernmost point of America. The geography of the globe was then fixed in that quarter: it was known that America and Africa, terminating at Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope, narrowed away to points towards the antarctic pole, in a southern sea studded with a few islands.

In the great Ocean, California, its gulph, and the Vermilion Sea were known to Cortes; Cabrillo proceeded along the coast of New California as far as the 43d degree of north latitude; Galbi advanced to the 57th degree. Amidst so many real peripluses, Maldonado, Juan de Fuca, and Admiral de Fonte, placed their chimerical voyages. It was Behring who fixed in the north-west the limits of North America, as Lemaire had fixed in the south-east the limits of South America. America bars the way to India like a long dyke between two seas.

A fifth part of the world, towards the south pole, had been descried by the first Portuguese navigators:

nay, this part of the world is very accurately laid down in a chart of the sixteenth century preserved in the British Museum; but this country, being coasted afresh by the Dutch, the successors of the Portuguese in the Moluccas, was named by them Dieman's Land. It received at length the name of New Holland, when, in 1642, Abel Tasman had completed the circumnavigation of it. In this voyage Tasman acquired a knowledge of New Zealand.

It was not long that commercial interests and political wars left the Spaniards and Portuguese in the peaceful enjoyment of their conquests. In vain did the Pope draw that celebrated line which divided the world between the heirs of the genius of Gama and of Columbus. Magellan's ship had proved physically, to the most incredulous, that the earth was round, and that there were antipodes. The straight line of the sovereign pontiff therefore divided nothing but a circular surface, and was lost in the atmosphere. The pretensions and rights of the parties were soon mingled and confounded.

The Portuguese established themselves in America, and the Spaniards in India; the English, the French, the Danes, the Dutch, hastened to obtain a share of the prey. They landed pell-mell on every shore, planted a pole, set up a flag, took possession

of a sea, an island, a continent, in the name of a European sovereign, without enquiring whether the people, the kings, the inhabitants, polished or savage, were not the rightful masters of those countries. The missionaries thought that the world belonged to the Cross, inasmuch as Christ, the pacific conqueror, was to subject all nations to the Gospel; but the adventurers of the fifteenth and sixteenth century took things in a more material sense: they thought to sanctify their rapacity by unfurling the standard of salvation in an idolatrous land. That emblem of a power of charity and peace became the sign of persecution and discord.

The Europeans attacked one another in all quarters; a handful of foreigners spread over immense continents seemed nevertheless to want room to stand on. Not only did men fight for those lands and those seas where they hoped to find gold, diamonds, and pearls; those countries which produce ivory, incense, aloes, tea, coffee, silk, and rich stuffs; those islands in which grow cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, the sugar-cane, and the sago-palm; but they even slaughtered one another for the sake of a barren rock imbedded in the ice of the pole, or for a paltry establishment in the corner of a vast desert. These wars, which formerly stained their cradles

alone with blood, spread with the European colonies over the whole surface of the globe, and involved nations who knew not so much as the names of the countries and kings to whom they were immolated. A cannon-shot fired in Spain, in Portugal, in France, in Holland, in England, at the extremity of the Baltic, caused a tribe of savages in Canada to be slaughtered, threw a negro family on the coast of Guinea into fetters, or overturned a kingdom in India. According to various treaties of peace, Chinese, Hindoos, Africans, Americans, found themselves transformed into French, English, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, and Danes; and some parts of Africa, Asia, and America changed masters according to the colour of a flag sent out from Europe. It was not the governments alone of our continent that arrogated to themselves this supremacy; mere companies of merchants and bands of freebooters waged war on their own behalf, and ruled tributary kingdoms and fertile islands by means of a factory, a commercial agent, or a captain of pirates.

The first narratives of all these discoveries are mostly delightful for their quaint simplicity: they are interspersed with many fables, but these fables obscure not the truth. The authors of these relations are no doubt too credulous, but they speak often

conscientiously: unenlightened Christians, frequently hurried away by passion, but sincere, if they deceive you it is because they are themselves mistaken. Monks, mariners, soldiers, employed in these expeditions, all narrate to you their dangers and their adventures, with a piety and warmth which are catching. A kind of new crusaders, going in quest of new worlds, they relate what they observed or heard: without suspecting it, they excel in delineation, because they faithfully reflect the image of the object placed before their eyes. We feel in their accounts the astonishment and admiration which they experience at sight of those virgin seas, of those primitive regions, which are outspread before them, of that nature which is overshadowed by gigantic trees, watered by immense rivers, peopled by unknown animals; a nature which Buffon has divined in his description of the Kamitchi, which he has sung, we may say, when treating of "those birds attached to the car of the sun, under the burning zone that is bordered by the tropics; birds which are incessantly upon the wing beneath that fiery sky, without ever passing beyond the two extreme limits of the track of the magnificent luminary."

Among the travellers who wrote the journal of their peregrinations, must be reckoned some of the

great men of that age of prodigies. We have four letters from Cortes to Charles V.; we have one letter from Christopher Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, dated West Indies, July 7th, 1503. M. de Navarette has published another addressed to the Pope, in which the Genoese pilot promises to give the sovereign pontiff an account of his discoveries, and to leave commentaries like Cæsar. What a treasure, should these letters and these commentaries ever be found in the Vatican library! Columbus was a poet also like Cæsar: Latin verses by him are still extant. Nothing more natural assuredly than that this man was inspired by Heaven. Accordingly Giustiniani, in his Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldee Psalter, placed the life of Columbus as a note under the psalm *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei*, as a recent miracle which proclaimed the glory of God.

It is probable that the Portuguese in Africa, and the Spaniards in America, collected facts which were at that time kept secret by jealous governments. The new political state of Portugal, and the emancipation of Spanish America will favour interesting researches. Already has the young and unfortunate traveller, Bowdich, published an account of the discoveries of the Portuguese in the interior of Africa,

between Angola and Mozambique, extracted from original manuscripts. We now possess a secret, and extremely curious report of the state of Peru during the voyage of La Condamine. M. de Navarette is giving to the world a collection of the voyages of Spaniards, with other unpublished memoirs concerning the history of navigation.

Coming down towards our own age, we see the commencement of those modern voyages and travels in which civilization displays all its resources, and science all its means. By land a Chardin, a Tavernier, a Bernier, a Tournefort, a Niebuhr, a Pallas, a Norden, a Shaw, a Hornemann, unite their interesting works with those of the writers of the *Lettres Edifiantes*. Greece and Egypt behold explorers, who brave dangers to discover a past world, like the mariners who sought a new one: Buonaparte and his forty thousand travellers clapped their hands at the ruins of Thebes.

At sea Drake, Sarmiento, Cavendish, Sebald de Weert, Spilberg, Noort, Rogers, Dampier, Gemelli Carreri, la Barbinais, Byron, Wallis, Anson, Bougainville, Cook, Carteret, La Perouse, Entrecasteaux, Vancouver, Freycinet and Duperré, have not left a rock unexplored.*

* It is with a feeling of pride and pleasure that I write the

The Pacific Ocean, ceasing to be an immense solitude, is become a delightful archipelago, which reminds us of the beauty and enchantments of Greece.

India, once so mysterious, has no longer any secrets; its three sacred languages are divulged, its most hidden books are translated: we have penetrated into the philosophic creeds which divided the opinions of that ancient region, and the succession of the patriarchs of Bouddhah is as well known as the genealogy of our own families. The Society of Calcutta regularly publishes scientific news concerning India: the Sanscrit is read, and the Chinese, Javanese, Tartar, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, spoken at Paris, Bologna, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Petersburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and London. We have even recovered the language of the dead, that language lost with the race by which it was invented. The obelisk of the desert has presented its mysterious characters—they have been deciphered. The mummies have displayed their passports to the tomb—they have been read. Words have been again given to the mute thought which no living mortal was able to express.

French names; but I ought not to omit the still more recent travels of Julien in West Africa, Caillaud in Egypt, Gau in Nubia, Drovetti in the Oases, &c.

The sources of the Ganges have been explored by Webb, Raper, and Hodgson. Moorcroft has penetrated into Tibet. The peaks of the Himalaya are measured. 'Tis impossible to enumerate with Major Rennell the thousand travellers to whom science is for ever indebted.

In Africa, the sacrifice of Mungo Park has been followed by many other sacrifices: Bowdich, Tuckey, Belzoni, Beaufort, Peddie, Oudney have perished: that formidable continent will nevertheless be finally explored.

In the fifth continent, the Blue Mountains have been passed; the settlers are penetrating further and further into that singular portion of the globe, where the rivers seem to run the wrong way, from the sea into the interior; where the animals are unlike those previously known; where the swans are black; where the kangaroo leaps like a grasshopper; where Nature unfinished, as Lucretius describes her on the banks of the Nile, rears a species of monster, an animal which at once resembles the fish, the bird, the serpent, which dives under water, lays an egg, and pierces with a mortal dart.

In America, the illustrious Humboldt has delineated and described every thing.

The result of all these efforts, the positive infor-

mation acquired concerning so many places, the movement of politics, the renewal of generations, and the progress of civilization, have changed the primitive aspect of the globe.

The cities of India now blend the architecture of the Bramins with Italian palaces and Gothic monuments: the elegant carriages of London are seen travelling together with palanquins and caravans the roads of the tiger and the elephant. Large ships ascend the Ganges and the Indus: Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, have theatres, learned societies, printing-offices. The country of the Thousand and One Nights, the kingdom of Cachemire, the empire of the Mogul, the diamond mines of Golconda, the seas enriched with oriental pearls, one hundred and twenty millions of men, whom Bacchus, Sesostris, Darius, Alexander, Tamerlane, Gengis Khan, conquered, or attempted to conquer, have for their owners and masters a dozen English merchants, whose names nobody knows, and who reside four thousand leagues from Hindoostan, in some obscure street in the city of London. These merchants care very little for that ancient China which is the neighbour of their one hundred and twenty millions of vassals, and which Lord Hastings offered to subdue with twenty thousand men. But then the price of tea

would fall on the banks of the Thames! This is all that saves the empire of Tobi, founded two thousand six hundred and thirty-seven years before the Christian era;* of that Tobi who was contemporary with Rehu, the great-great-grandson of Abraham.

In Africa a European world commences at the Cape of Good Hope. The Rev. John Campbell, setting out from that Cape, penetrated into South Africa to the distance of eleven hundred miles: he found very populous cities (Macheou, Kurrechane), well cultivated tracts, and iron foundries. In Northern Africa, in the kingdom of Bornou and Soudan, properly so called, Clapperton and Denham found thirty-six towns more or less considerable, an advanced state of civilization, and a negro cavalry armed like the knights of the olden time.

The ancient capital of a Mahometan negro kingdom exhibited ruins of palaces, the haunts of elephants, lions, serpents, and ostriches. We are in momentary expectation of hearing that Major Laing has reached that Timbuctoo which is so well known and so unknown. Other Englishmen, attacking Africa by the coast of Benin, are going to meet, or have already rejoined, by ascending the rivers, their

* I follow the Chinese chronology: we ought, by rights, to strike off a couple of thousand years.

courageous countrymen penetrating from the Mediterranean. The Nile and the Niger will soon have disclosed to us their springs and their courses. In those scorching regions the lake Stad cools the air; in those deserts of sand, in that torrid zone, water freezes in the skins in which it is carried, and Dr. Oudney, a celebrated traveller, died of intense cold.

Towards the antarctic pole, Captain Smith has discovered New Shetland: this is all that remains of the famous southern region of Ptolemy. In these latitudes the whales are innumerable and of immense magnitude: one of them, in 1820, attacked the American ship Essex and sunk her.

Australasia is no longer a dreary desert: English malefactors, mingled with voluntary colonists, have built towns in this world, the last opened to mankind. The bowels of the earth have been investigated, and in them have been found iron, coal, salt, slate, lime, plumbago, potter's earth, alum—all that is useful for the establishment of a society. The New Wales of the South has for its capital the town of Sydney in Port Jackson. Paramatta is situated at the bottom of the bay; Windsor prospers at the confluence of the South Creek and the Hawkesbury. The large village of Liverpool has communicated

fertility to the banks of George River, which discharges itself into Botany Bay, situated fourteen miles to the south of Port Jackson.

The island of Van Diemen is also peopled; it has excellent harbours and entire mountains of iron: its capital is called Hobart-Town.

According to the nature of their crimes the convicts transported to New Holland are either employed on the public works or placed as labourers with settlers. Such as reform become free, or remain in the colony with billets of permission.

The colony has revenues already: in 1819 the taxes amounted to £21,179 sterling, and served to diminish by one-fourth the expenses of the government.

New Holland has printing-presses, political and literary journals, theatres, horse-races, high roads, stone bridges, religious and civil edifices, steam engines, manufactures of cloth, hats, and pottery, and ships are built there. The fruits of every climate, from the pine to the apple, from the olive to the grape, prosper in this land, which was a land of malediction. The sheep, a cross between the English and the breed of the Cape of Good Hope, and the pure merinoes in particular, have here become remarkably beautiful.

Australasia carries its corn to the Cape, its leather to India, its salted meat to the Isle of France. This country which, twenty years ago, sent to Europe nothing but kangaroos and a few plants, now exhibits its merino wool in the markets of England; it is there sold as high as 11s. 6d. per lb., being four shillings more than the finest Spanish wools fetch in the same markets.

In the Pacific Ocean a similar revolution has taken place. The Sandwich Islands form a kingdom civilized by Tamehameha. This kingdom has a navy composed of a score brigs and a few frigates. Deserters from English ships have become princes: they have erected forts, defended by excellent artillery; they carry on an active commerce, on the one hand with America, on the other with Asia. The death of Tamehameha has restored the power to the petty feudal lords of the Sandwich Islands, but not destroyed the germs of civilization. There were recently seen at the Opera in London a king and queen of those islanders who ate Captain Cook, though they worshipped his bones in the temple consecrated to the god Rono. This king and this queen fell victims to the uncongenial climate of England; and Lord Byron, the heir to the title of the great poet who expired at Missolonghi, was the

officer appointed to convey the remains of the deceased sovereigns to their native islands:—remarkable contrasts and incidents enough, I think, in all conscience!

Otaheite has lost its dances, its songs, its voluptuous manners. The females of the new Cythera, whose beauty was perhaps too highly extolled by Bougainville, are now become, under their bread-fruit and their elegant palm-trees, puritans, who attend preaching, read the scriptures with Methodist missionaries, hold religious controversies from morning to night, and atone by a profound ennui for the too great gaiety of their mothers. Bibles and ascetic works are printed at Otaheite.

A sovereign of the island, king Pomare, became legislator: he promulgated a code of criminal laws consisting of nineteen articles, and appointed four hundred judges to carry these laws into effect. Murder alone is punished with death. Calumny *in the first degree* has a penalty attached to it: the calumniator is obliged to make with his own hands a piece of high road from two to four miles long, and twelve feet wide. "The road must be rounded," says the royal ordinance, "that the rain-water may run off on each side." If there were a similar law in France we should have the finest roads in Europe.

The savages of these enchanted islands, so admired by Juan Fernandez, Anson, Dampier, and many other navigators, have transformed themselves into English sailors. A paragraph in the Gazette of Sydney, New South Wales, announces that Roni, Paootoo, Popoti, Tiapoa, Moai, Topa, Fieoo, Aiyong, and Haooho, natives of Otaheite and New Zealand, are about to sail from Port Jackson in ships belonging to the colony.

Lastly, among that ice of our pole, whence Gmelin, Ellis, Martens, Philip, Davis, Gilbert, Hudson, Button, Baffin, Fox, James, Monk, May, Owen, and Koscheley, escaped with so much difficulty and danger; among that ice, amid which some unfortunate Dutchmen passed the winter in a cavern beset with bears: in those same polar regions, amidst a night of several months, did Captain Parry, his officers, and crew, enjoying the best health, warmly shut up in their ship, having abundance of provisions, perform plays, execute dances, hold masquerades; so safe has improved civilization rendered navigation, to such a degree has it diminished every kind of danger, and furnished man with the means of defying the inclemencies of climates!

In the travels which follow this Preface I shall treat of the changes which have taken place in

America. I shall merely remark in this place the different results accruing to the world from the discoveries of Columbus and those of Gama.

The human race has derived but little benefit from the labours of the Portuguese navigator. The sciences have undoubtedly gained by those labours; errors in geography and natural philosophy have been corrected; the thoughts of man have expanded in proportion as the earth was outspread before him; by visiting more nations he has been enabled to make more comparisons; he has conceived a higher respect for himself from seeing what he was capable of accomplishing; he perceived that the human race was yet growing, and that past generations had died in their infancy: this knowledge, these thoughts, this experience, this self-esteem, have entered as general elements into civilization; but no political melioration has taken place in the vast regions to which Gama bent his course—the Indians have only changed masters. The consumption of the productions of their country, diminished in Europe by the inconstancy of taste and fashion, is not even any longer an object of lucre; we should not now run to the extremities of the earth to seek or to take possession of an island producing the nutmeg; the commodities of India have moreover been either

imitated or naturalized in other parts of the globe. Altogether, the discoveries of Gama are a magnificent adventure, but nothing more; they have perhaps had the ill effect of increasing the preponderance of one nation to such a degree as to render it dangerous to the independence of other nations.

The discoveries of Columbus, in their consequences, which are at this day unfolding themselves, have been an absolute revolution, not less for the moral than for the physical world, as I shall have occasion to show at the conclusion of my travels. Let us not however forget that the continent, found again by Gama, has not demanded slavery from another portion of the world, and that Africa owes its fetters to the same America which is at this day so free. We may admire the track pursued by Columbus across the expanse of ocean; but to the poor negroes it is the way which, as Milton tells us, Death and Sin constructed over the abyss.

All that now remains for me is to notice the researches by means of which the geographical history of North America has been recently completed.

It was heretofore not known whether this continent extended towards the pole and was joined to Greenland or other arctic regions, or whether it ter-

minated at some sea contiguous to Hudson's Bay or Behring's Straits.

In 1772 Hearn discovered the sea at the mouth of Coppermine River; Mackenzie saw it in 1789, at the mouth of the river which bears his name. Captain Ross, and afterwards Captain Parry, were sent, the one in 1818, the other in the following year, to explore anew these frozen regions. Captain Parry penetrated through Lancaster Strait, passed in all probability over the magnetic pole, and wintered at Melville Island.

In 1821 he examined Hudson's Bay, and found again Repulse Bay. Guided by the accounts of Esquimaux, he proceeded to the entrance of a strait, which was obstructed by ice, and which he called Hecla and Fury Strait, after the ships under his command. There he perceived the last cape in the north-east of America.

Captain Franklin, dispatched to America to second by land the efforts of Captain Parry, descended Coppermine River, entered the Polar Sea, and advanced eastward to the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV. nearly in the direction and latitude of Repulse Bay.

In a second expedition in 1825, Captain Franklin descended the Mackenzie, saw the Arctic Ocean,

returned and wintered on Bear Lake, and again descended the Mackenzie in 1826. At the mouth of this river the English expedition divided; one half, provided with two canoes, proceeded eastward, and again fell in with Coppermine River; the other, under Franklin himself, and having likewise two boats, directed its course to the west.

On the 9th of July the captain was stopped by the ice; on the 4th of August he took to his boats again. He could scarcely advance more than one mile a day: the coast was so flat, and the water so shallow, that the party was rarely able to land. Thick fogs and gales of wind opposed fresh obstacles to the progress of the expedition.

It nevertheless arrived on the 18th of August at the 150th meridian, in the latitude of 70° 30′ north. Captain Franklin had thus traversed more than half the distance which separates the mouth of the Mackenzie from Ice Cape above Behring's Strait. The intrepid voyager was in no want of provisions; his boats had sustained no injury; the seamen enjoyed good health; the sea was open; but the instructions of the Admiralty were precise: they forbade the captain to prolong his researches, unless he could reach Kotzebue Sound before the commencement of the bad season. He was therefore obliged

to return to Mackenzie River, and on the 21st of September he once more entered Bear Lake, where he found the other part of the expedition.

The latter had finished the survey of the coast from the mouth of the Mackenzie to that of the Coppermine River; it had even prolonged its navigation to the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV. and again proceeded eastward as far as the 118th meridian, having every where met with good harbours and a more accessible coast than that surveyed by Captain Franklin.

In 1816 the Russian captain Otto von Kotzebue discovered to the north-east of Behring's Strait, a passage or sound which now bears his name: to this channel the English captain Beechey proceeded in a frigate to wait in the north-east of America for Captain Franklin, who was coming towards him from the north-west. After a prosperous voyage, Captain Beechey arrived in 1826 at the place and time of rendezvous, and it was not till he reached the latitude of 72° 30′ that his large ship was stopped by the ice. Being then obliged to anchor under a coast, he daily observed *baidars* (the Russian name for the Indian canoes in those latitudes) passing and repassing through chasms betweeu the ice and the land; and he was in momentary expecta-

tion of seeing Captain Franklin arrive by the same way.

We have stated that the latter had, so early as the 18th of August 1826, reached the 150th meridian from Greenwich, and the latitude of 70° 30′ north; he was therefore only ten degrees of longitude from Ice Cape—degrees which in this high latitude are barely equal to eighty-one leagues. Ice Cape is about sixty leagues distant from Kotzebue Sound: it is probable that Captain Franklin would not even have been obliged to double that cape, and that he would have found some channel immediately communicating with Kotzebue Sound: at any rate he had but one hundred and twenty-five leagues to travel before he would have reached Captain Beechey's frigate!

It is towards the end of August and during the month of September, that the polar seas are least encumbered with ice. Captain Beechey did not leave Kotzebue Sound till the 14th of October: thus Captain Franklin would have had nearly two months, from the 18th of August to the 14th of October, for travelling one hundred and twenty-five leagues, in the best season of the year. We cannot but deplore the impediment which instructions, otherwise extremely humane, threw in the way of

Captain Franklin's progress. What transports of joy, mingled with just pride, would have burst from the English sailors, on completing the discovery of the north-west passage, and meeting in seas never yet ploughed by ships, at this hitherto unknown extremity of the New World! Be this as it will, we may consider the geographical problem as solved: a north-west passage exists; the exterior configuration of America is traced.

The continent of America terminates to the north-west in Hudson's Bay, in a peninsula called Melville, the extreme point or cape of which is situated in 69° 48′ north latitude, and 82° 50′ west longitude from Greenwich. Between this cape and Cockburn's island there is a strait, called Fury and Hecla Strait, which presented to Captain Parry nothing but a solid mass of ice.

The north-west peninsula is attached to the continent about Repulse Bay; it cannot be very wide at its base, since the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV. discovered by Captain Franklin in his first voyage, runs southward to 66½ degrees, and its southern extremity is not more than sixty-seven leagues distant from the western part of Wager Bay. Captain Lyon was sent back to Repulse Bay, for the purpose of travelling by land from the bottom

of that bay to the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV. The ice, the currents, and storms, stopped the vessel of this adventurous seaman.

Now, pursuing our investigation, and placing ourselves on the other side of Melville peninsula, in the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV., we find the mouth of the Coppermine River in 67° 42′ 35″ north latitude, and 115° 49′ 33″ west longitude from Greenwich. Hearne had placed this mouth $4\frac{1}{4}$ degrees higher north, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ degrees further west.

Proceeding from the mouth of the Coppermine River towards the mouth of the Mackenzie, you ascend along the coast to 70° 37′ north latitude, double a cape, and again descend to the eastern mouth of the Mackenzie in 69° 29′. Thence the coast stretches away to the west towards Behring's Strait, running to the height of 70° 30′ north latitude, under the 150th meridian from Greenwich, the point at which Captain Franklin stopped on the 18th of August, 1826. He was at that time, as I have before observed, only ten degrees of longitude to the west of Ice Cape: that cape is in the latitude of nearly 71 degrees.

On reviewing the different points then we find:

The extreme north-west cape of the continent of

North America in the 69th degree 48 minutes north latitude, and in the 82d degree 50 minutes west longitude from Greenwich; Cape Turnagain in the Gulph of the Coronation of George IV. in 68° 30′ north latitude; the mouth of the Copper-mine River in 60° 49′ 35″ north latitude, and 115° 49′ 33″ west longitude from Greenwich; the mouth of the Mackenzie in 69° 29′ of latitude, and 133° 24′ of longitude; the point at which Captain Franklin stopped in 70° 30′ north latitude, and the 150th meridian west of Greenwich; and lastly, Ice Cape 10 degrees of longitude further west, and in the 71st degree of north latitude.

Thus, from the extreme north-west cape of North America, in Hecla and Fury Strait, to Ice Cape, above Behring's Strait, the sea forms a wide but not deep gulph, which terminates at the north-west coast of America; this coast runs east and west, presenting in the general gulph three or four principal bays, the points or promontories of which approach the latitude wherein are situated the extreme north-west cape of America in Fury and Hecla Strait, and the Ice Cape above Behring's Strait.

Before this gulph, between the 70th and 75th degree of latitude, lie all the discoveries resulting

from the three voyages of Captain Parry, the presumed island called Cockburn's Island, the outlines of Prince Regent's Strait, Prince Leopold's, Bathurst, and Melville Islands, and Banks's Land. All that now remains to be done is to find between these detached lands a free passage to the sea which washes the north-west coast of America, and which might perhaps be navigable at the proper season for whalers.

Mr. Macleod informed Mr. Douglas, at the great falls of the Columbia, that there is a river running parallel to Mackenzie River, and discharging itself into the sea near Ice Cape. To the north of this cape is an island, which is frequented by Russian ships for the sake of barter with the natives. Mr. Macleod has himself visited the Polar Sea, and passed, in the space of eleven months, from the Pacific Ocean to Hudson's Bay. He declares that the Polar Sea is open after the month of July.

Such is the present state of things on the exterior of North America, relative to that celebrated passage which I took it into my head to seek, and which was the primary cause of my transatlantic excursion. Let us see what recent travellers in the interior of this same America have accomplished.

To the north-west every thing is discovered in

those ice-bound and treeless deserts which enclose Slave Lake and Bear Lake. Mackenzie set out on the 3d of June, 1789, from Fort Chippewyan, on the Lake of the Mountains, which communicates by a current of water with Slave Lake. The latter gives rise to the river which discharges itself into the Polar Sea, and which is now called Mackenzie River.

On the 10th of October, 1792, Mackenzie set out a second time from Fort Chippewyan; directing his course westward, he traversed the Lake of Mountains and ascended the river Oungigah, or Peace River, which takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains. The French missionaries formerly knew these mountains by the name of *Montagnes des Pierres Brillantes.* Mackenzie crossed these mountains, and came to a large river which he mistook for the Columbia: he did not follow its course, but proceeded to the Pacific Ocean along another river, which he called Salmon River.

He met with numerous traces of Captain Vancouver: he took an observation of the latitude at 52° 21′ 33″, and wrote with vermilion upon a rock, "Alexander Mackenzie came from Canada to this place by land, the 22d of July, 1793." What were we doing in Europe at that date?

From a slight feeling of national jealousy, the American travellers take but little notice of Mackenzie's second journey; a journey which proves that this Englishman had the honour of being the first who traversed the continent of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

On the 7th of May, 1792, the American captain Robert Gray descried on the north-west coast of North America the mouth of a river, in 46° 19′ north latitude and 126° 14′ 15″ west longitude from the meridian of Paris. Gray entered this river on the 11th of the same month, and called it the Columbia, after the ship which he commanded.

Vancouver arrived at the same place on the 19th of October in the same year: Broughton, with Vancouver's consort, passed the bar of the Columbia, and ascended the river to the distance of eighty-four miles above the bar.

Captains Lewis and Clarke, arriving from the Missouri, descended the Rocky Mountains, and built, in 1805, at the entrance of the Columbia, a fort, which was abandoned at their departure.

In 1811 the Americans erected another fort on the left bank of the same river: this fort was named Astoria, after Mr. J. J. Astor, merchant of New York, and director of the Pacific Ocean Fur Company.

In 1810, a party of members of the company met at St. Louis, on the Mississipi, and went on a new expedition to the Columbia across the Rocky Mountains; and in 1812 some of these members, conducted by Mr. R. Stuart, returned from the Columbia to St. Louis. The large tributary streams of the Missouri, the River of the Osages, and Yellow Rock River, equal to the Ohio, have been ascended. The American establishments communicate by these rivers to the north-west with the most remote Indian tribes, to the south-east with the inhabitants of New Mexico.

In 1820, Mr. Cass, governor of the territory of Michigan, set out from the town of Detroit, situated on the channel which joins Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair, and followed the great chain of the lakes to explore the sources of the Mississipi: the journal of this expedition, written by Mr. Schoolcraft, is replete with facts and information. The travellers entered the Mississipi by Sand Lake River: the Mississipi at this place was two hundred feet broad. The party ascended it and passed forty-three rapids: the river became gradually narrower, and at the fall of Peckagoma it was no more than eighty feet wide. The aspect of the country changes, says Mr. Schoolcraft: the forest which

covered the banks of the river disappears; it forms numerous windings in a prairie three miles broad, overgrown with very high grass, wild oats, and rushes, and bordered by sandy hills of moderate height, upon which grow a few yellow pines. We had navigated a long time without making much progress; it seemed as if we had arrived at the upper level of the water; the current of the river ran at the rate of only one mile in an hour. We could see nothing but the sky and the herbage, through which our boats cleared themselves a passage, and which intercepted all distant objects from our view. The water-fowl were extremely numerous, but there were no plovers among them.

The expedition crossed the little and great lake Winnepec: fifty miles higher it stopped in the upper Red Cedar Lake, to which the travellers gave the name of Cassina, in honour of Mr. Cass.

This lake, eighteen miles in length and six in breadth, is the principal source of the Mississipi. Its water is transparent, and its banks are covered with elms, maples, and pines. Mr. Pike, another traveller, who places one of the principal sources of the Mississipi at Leech Lake *(Lac de la Sangue)*, assigns to Lake Cassina the latitude of 47° 42′ 40″ north.

Doe River enters the lake of the same name, and runs into Lake Cassina. Estimating at sixty miles says Mr. Schoolcraft, the distance from Lake Cassina to Doe Lake, the most remote source of the Mississipi, we shall have three thousand and thirty-eight miles for the total length of the course of that river. The preceding year I had descended it (the Mississipi), from St. Louis in a steam-boat, and on the 10th of July I had sailed from its mouth, bound to New York. Thus a little more than a year before I was sitting in an Indian canoe near its source.

Mr. Schoolcraft observes, that at a little distance from Doe Lake, the waters run northward into Red River, which discharges itself into Hudson's Bay.

Three years later, in 1823, M. Beltrami traversed the same regions. He places the northern sources of the Mississipi a hundred miles beyond Lake Cassina or Red Cedar Lake. M. Beltrami affirms that no traveller before him proceeded further than Red Cedar Lake. He thus describes his discovery of the sources of the Mississipi:

"We are now upon the highest land in North America. The whole country is nevertheless plain, and the hill upon which I am is nothing but an eminence formed, as it were, in the midst of it to serve for observatory.

"On looking around, you see rivers running southward to the Gulph of Mexico, northward to the Icy Ocean, eastward to the Atlantic, and westward to the Pacific Ocean.

"An extensive plateau crowns this supreme elevation; what is still more surprising there is a lake in the centre of it.

"How was this lake formed? how is it fed? Go ask these questions of the great architect of the universe. . . . . This lake has no outlet, and my eye, which is very sharp-sighted, could not discover, in any part of the clearest horizon, any land that rises above its level; on the contrary, the ground all about is much lower.

"You have seen the sources of the river which I have thus far been ascending (Red River), they are precisely at the foot of the hill, and filter in a direct line from the northern border of the lake: they are the sources of the Red or Bloody River. On the opposite side, to the south, other springs form a handsome little basin, eighty paces in circumference; these waters also filter from the lake, and these springs are the sources of the Mississipi.

"This lake is about three miles in circumference; it is in the shape of a heart, and it speaks to the soul—mine was moved by it. It was but just to

draw it from the obscurity in which, after so many expeditions, geography had still left it, and to make it known in a distinguished manner to the world. I gave it the name of that excellent woman, whose life, as it was said by her illustrious friend, the Countess of Albany, was a course of active morality, and her death a calamity to all who enjoyed the happiness of her acquaintance. This lake I have called Lake Julia, and the sources of the two rivers, the Julian sources of the Bloody River, and the Julian sources of the Mississipi.

"I beheld in imagination the shades of Colombo, Americo Vespucci, Cabotto, Verazani, &c. joyfully attending this grand ceremony, and congratulating each other that one of their countrymen had come thither to revive by new discoveries the memory of the services which they rendered to the whole world by their talents, their exploits, and their virtues."

It is a foreigner who thus writes in the French language: the taste, the features, the character, and the just pride of Italian genius, will be easily recognized.

The truth is, that the plateau in which the Mississipi takes its rise is a level but elevated tract, the springs of which send forth their waters to the north, to the east, to the south, and to the west;

that on this plateau there are a great number of lakes; and that these lakes pour out rivers which run to every point of the compass. The soil of this elevated plain is moving as if it floated over abysses. In the rainy season, the rivers and lakes overflow: you would take it for a sea, if this sea did not carry along with it forests of wild oats twenty and even thirty feet high. The canoes, lost in this twofold ocean of water and herbage, have nothing whereby to steer but the stars or the compass. When tempests supervene, the fluvial harvests bend and overhang the boats; and millions of wild ducks, teal, morelles, herons, and snipes, fly out of them, forming a cloud over the heads of the voyagers.

The overflowing waters remain for some days, as if uncertain of their inclination: by and by they part. A canoe is gently wafted towards the polar seas, the seas of the south, the great lakes of Canada, or the branches of the Missouri, according to the point of the circumference at which it happens to be when it has passed the middle of the inundation. Nothing is more surprising and magnificent than this movement and this distribution of the central waters of North America.

On the lower Mississipi, Major Pike in 1806, and Mr. Nuttall in 1819, traversed the Arkansa ter-

ritory, visited the Osages, and furnished information equally useful to natural history and topography.

Such is that Mississipi which I shall have occasion to notice in my travels—a river which the French, coming from Canada, first descended; a river which flowed under their power, and the rich valley of which still regrets their genius.

Columbus discovered America in the night between the 11th and 12th of October 1492: Captain Franklin completed the discovery of this new world on the 18th of August 1826. How many generations have passed away, how many revolutions have taken place, how many changes have happened among nations, in this space of three hundred and thirty-three years, nine months, and twenty-four days!

The world no longer resembles the world of Columbus. On those unknown seas, above which was seen to rise a *black hand*, the *hand of Satan*,* which seized ships in the night, and dragged them to the bottom of the abyss; in those antarctic regions, the abode of night, horror, and fables; in those furious seas about Cape Horn and the Cape of Storms, where pilots turned pale; in that double

* See the ancient charts and the Arabian navigators.

ocean which lashes its double shores; in those latitudes formerly so dreaded, packets perform regular voyages for the conveyance of letters and passengers. An invitation to dinner is sent from a flourishing city in America to a flourishing city in Europe, and the guest arrives at the appointed hour. Instead of those rude, filthy, infectious, damp ships, in which you had nothing but salt provisions to live upon and were devoured by scurvy, elegant vessels offer to passengers cabins wainscoted with mahogany, provided with carpets, adorned with mirrors, flowers, libraries, musical instruments, and all the delicacies of good cheer. A voyage requiring several years' researches in latitudes the most various shall not be attended with the death of a single seaman.

As for tempests we laugh at them. Distances have disappeared. A mere whaler sails to the south pole: if the fishery is not prosperous she proceeds to the north pole: to catch a fish she twice crosses the tropics, twice traverses a diameter of the earth, and touches in the space of a few months the two extremities of the globe. On the doors of the taverns of London is seen posted the announcement of the sailing of the packet for Van Diemen's land, with all possible conveniences for passengers to the

Antipodes, and beside that the notice of the departure of the packet from Dover to Calais. We have pocket Itineraries, Guides, Manuals, for the use of persons who purpose to take a trip of pleasure round the world. This trip lasts nine or ten months, and sometimes less; we set out in winter on leaving the Opera; touch at the Canaries, Rio Janeiro, the Philippines, China, India, and the Cape of Good Hope, and return home for the opening of the hunting season.

Steam-boats no longer care for contrary winds on the ocean, or for opposing currents in rivers: kiosks, or floating palaces, of two or three stories, from their galleries the traveller admires the most magnificent scenery of Nature in the forests of the New World. Commodious roads cross the summits of mountains and open deserts heretofore inaccessible: forty thousand travellers meet on a party of pleasure to the cataract of Niagra. On iron railways the heavy vehicles of commerce glide rapidly along; and if France, Germany, and Russia, thought fit to establish a telegraphic line to the wall of China, we might write to our friends in that country and receive their answers in the space of nine or ten hours. A man commencing his pilgrimage at the age of eighteen years, and finishing it at sixty, if he

had gone but four leagues a day, would have travelled nearly seven times the circumference of our paltry planet. The genius of man is truly great for his petty habitation: what else can we conclude from it but that he is destined for a higher abode?

Is it a good thing that the intercourse between men should have been rendered so easy? Would not nations be more likely to retain their peculiar character if they continued to be strangers to one another, and adhered with religious fidelity to the manners and traditions of their forefathers? I remember to have heard in my youth aged Bretons murmuring against the roads which it was proposed to open in their woods, even though these roads were certain to increase the value of the contiguous estates.

I know that it is possible to support this system with very touching declamations; the good old times no doubt had their merit; but it should be recollected that a political state is not better because it is superannuated; otherwise we must admit that the despotism of China and India, in which no change has been made for three thousand years, is the most perfect system in the world. I cannot see, however, that we should be much happier for shutting ourselves up for forty centuries with nations in infancy and tyrants in decrepitude.

A fondness for and admiration of what is stationary arise from the false judgments formed respecting the truth of facts and the nature of man: respecting the truth of facts, because people suppose that ancient manners were purer than modern manners, which is a complete error; respecting the nature of man, because they will not see that the human mind is perfectible.

The governments which cramp the efforts of genius resemble those bird-catchers who break the wings of the eagle to prevent his flying away.

Lastly, if men oppose the progress of civilization it is only because they are under the dominion of prejudices: they continue to view nations as they were formerly viewed, that is to say, isolated and having nothing in common in their destinies. But, if we consider the human species as one great family advancing towards the same goal; if we do not imagine that all things take place here below in order that a petty province, a petty kingdom, may continue eternally in their ignorance, their poverty, their political institutions, such as barbarism, time and chance have fashioned them: then this development of industry and of the arts and sciences will appear to be, what it really is, a legitimate and natural thing. In this universal movement we shall

recognize the movement of society, which, finishing its particular history, begins its general history.

Formerly, when a man had quitted his home like Ulysses, he was an object of curiosity; now-a-days, if we except half a dozen personages pre-eminent from individual merit, who can expect to interest by the narrative of his travels? I come forward to take my place among the multitude of obscure travellers who have seen no more than every body has seen, who have not contributed to the progress of the sciences, who have added nothing to the stock of human knowledge; but I come forward too as the last historian of the nations of the world of Columbus, of those nations whose race will ere long be extinct. I shall say a few words concerning the future destinies of America, concerning those other nations, heirs to the unfortunate Indians. I have no higher pretension than to express regrets and hopes.

INTRODUCTION.

In a note to the *Essay on Revolutions*, written in 1794, I have related very circumstantially what were my plans in going to America; I have spoken of these plans in my other works, and particularly in the Preface to *Atala*. I aspired to nothing less than to discover the passage to the north-west of America, by penetrating to the polar sea, seen by Hearne in 1772, perceived more to the west in 1789 by Mackenzie, recognized by Captain Parry, who approached it in 1819 through Lancaster Strait, and in 1821 at the extremity of Hecla and Fury Strait;* lastly, Captain Franklin, after having successively descended Hearne's river in 1821, and Mackenzie's in 1826, has just explored the shores of that ocean which is begirt with ice, and which has hitherto denied access to every ship.

* This intrepid seaman has since visited Spitzbergen, with the intention of reaching the pole from that island by means of sledges. He was sixty-one days upon the ice without being able to proceed further than 82° 45′ north latitude.

Here let me remark a circumstance peculiar to France: most of her travellers have been lone men, abandoned to their own means and their own genius: very rarely have they been employed or assisted by the government or by private companies. The consequence has been that foreign nations, better advised, have affected by a concurrence of national energies what French individuals have been unable to accomplish. In France people have courage; courage deserves success, but something more is often requisite to obtain it.

Now that I am approaching the end of my career, when I cast a look on the past, I cannot help thinking how different that career would have been, had I fulfilled the object of my voyage. Lost in those wild seas, on those hyperborean shores on which man had never imprinted his footsteps, years of discord, which have crushed so many generations with such noise, would have passed over my head in silence: the world would have changed, I being absent. It is probable that I should never have been so unfortunate as to write; my name would have remained unknown, or perhaps there would have attached to it that peaceful kind of renown, which excites no envy, and which bespeaks less glory than happiness. Who knows even if I should

have re-crossed the Atlantic, if I should not have fixed my residence in the solitudes discovered by me, like a conqueror amid his conquests? It is true that I should not then have figured at the congress of Verona, nor should I have been called *Monseigneur*, at the Office for Foreign Affairs, Rue des Capucines, Paris.

All this is very indifferent at the conclusion of the journey: how diverse soever the roads, the travellers arrive at last at the general rendezvous; they all reach it equally fatigued; for here below, from the beginning to the end of our course, we do not once sit down to rest ourselves: like the Jews at the feast of the Passover, we hurry through the banquet of life standing, our loins girt with a cord, our feet shod, and staff in hand.

It is therefore unnecessary to repeat here what was the object of my enterprize, since I have mentioned it a hundred times in my other writings. I shall content myself with observing to the reader that this first journey would probably have been the last, had I been able to procure at the outset the resources necessary for my grand discovery; but, in case I should be thwarted by unforeseen obstacles, this first expedition was to be but the prelude to a second, but a sort of reconnoissance in the desert.

In order to have some idea of the route which I shall be seen pursuing, the reader must bear in mind the plan which I had laid down for myself: this plan is rapidly sketched in the note to the *History of Revolutions* to which I have already referred. The reader will there see that, instead of directing my course northward, I meant to proceed to the west, so as to attack the west coast of America a little above the Gulph of California. Thence following the outline of the continent, and keeping constantly in sight of the sea, my intention was to travel northward as far as Behring's Strait, to double the last cape of America, to pursue an eastern course along the shores of the Polar Sea, and to return to the United States by Hudson's Bay, Labrador, and Canada.

What determined me to traverse so long a coast of the Pacific Ocean was the slight knowledge we then had of that coast. Doubts were still left, even after the researches of Vancouver, relative to the existence of a passage between the 40th and 60th degree of north latitude: the river Columbia, the bearings of New Cornwall, Chelckhoff's Strait, the Aleutian regions, Bristol or Cook's Bay, the land of the Indian Tchuktches, had none of them been yet explored by Kotzebue and the other Russian and

American navigators. Now-a-days Captain Franklin, avoiding a circuit of several thousand leagues, has spared himself the trouble of seeking in the west what was only to be found in the north.

I shall now request the reader to call to mind various passages in the Preface to my *History of Revolutions,* in which I have related some particulars of my life. Destined by my father for the navy, and by my mother for the church, but having myself chosen the military profession, I had been presented to Louis XVI: in order to enjoy the honours of the court and *ride in the carriages*—to use the language of the time—it was necessary to have at least the rank of captain of cavalry; I was thus captain of cavalry *de jure*, and sub-lieutenant of infantry *de facto* in the regiment of Navarre. The men of that regiment, of which the Marquis de Mortemart was colonel, having mutinied like the others, I found myself released from all engagements towards the end of 1790. When I quitted France, at the beginning of 1791, the revolution was advancing with rapid strides; the principles on which it was founded were mine, but I detested the cruelties by which it had already been dishonoured: it was with joy that I set out in quest of an independence more con-

genial to my taste, more in unison with my character.

Just at this period the bustle of emigration increased; but as there was not yet any fighting, no sentiment of honour forced me, against the bias of my reason, to throw myself into the Coblentz mania. The tide of a more rational emigration poured towards the banks of the Ohio; a land of liberty offered an asylum to those who fled from the liberty of their own country. Nothing affords a stronger proof of the high value of those generous institutions than this voluntary exile of the partisans of absolute power in a republican world.

In the spring of 1791 I bade adieu to my respectable and excellent mother, and embarked at St. Maloes, provided with a letter of recommendation to General Washington from the Marquis de la Rouairie. The latter had served in the war of independence in America; he soon afterwards became celebrated in France for the royalist conspiracy to which he gave his name. I had for fellow-travellers some young students from the seminary of St. Sulpice, whose superior, a man of merit, was conducting them to Baltimore. We set sail: in forty-eight hours we lost sight of land and entered the Atlantic.

It is difficult for persons who have never been abroad to form any idea of the feelings experienced when from the ship's deck nothing is to be seen but ocean and sky. These feelings I have endeavoured to express in the chapter of the *Spirit of Christianity*, entitled *Two Prospects of Nature*; and in *The Natchez*, where I have attributed my own emotions to Chactas. The *History of Revolutions*, and my *Travels in Greece* &c. are likewise interspersed with recollections and images of what may be called the desert of Ocean. To find myself in the midst of the sea was the same thing as to have not quitted my native country; it was like being carried in my first voyage by my nurse, by the confidante of my first pleasures. In order to enable the reader to enter the more readily into the spirit of the narrative which he is about to read, I shall beg leave to quote a few pages of my unpublished Memoirs; our manner of seeing and feeling almost always depends on the reminiscences of our youth.

To me may be applied the verses of Lucretius:

> Tum porro puer ut sævis projectus ab undis
> Navita . . . . . .

Heaven was pleased to place in my cradle an image of my destinies.

"Brought up as the companion of the winds and the waves, these waves, these winds, that solitude, which were my first masters, were perhaps more suitable to the nature of my mind and the independence of my character. To this wild education I may possibly owe some virtue which I should not have had: the truth is, that no one system of education is in itself preferable to another. What God does he does well; it is his Providence that directs us, when it calls us to perform a part on the stage of the world."

After the details of childhood come those of my studies. Quitting the paternal roof at an early age, I describe the impression made upon me by Paris, the court, the world; I paint the society of those days, the persons whom I met with, the first movements of the revolution: the series of dates brings me to the period of my departure for the United States. On my way to the port, I visited the spot where I had passed part of my childhood. I shall again quote the *Memoirs*.

"I have since seen Combourg but three times. At the death of my father all the members of the family met at the *chateau*, to take leave of one another. Two years afterwards I accompanied my mother to Combourg; she intended to furnish the

old mansion, whither my brother was to bring my sister-in-law: my brother did not come to Bretagne, and ere long he mounted the scaffold with the young wife* for whom my mother had prepared the nuptial bed. Lastly, I revisited Combourg on my way to the port, when I had resolved to go to America.

"After an absence of sixteen years, when once more about to quit my native soil for the ruins of Greece, I went to embrace, amid the heaths of my poor Bretagne, what was yet left of my family; but I had not the courage to undertake a pilgrimage to the paternal domains. It was among the moors of Combourg that I became what little I am; there I saw my family collected and dispersed. Out of ten children there were but three of us left. My mother died of grief; the ashes of my father were cast to the winds.

"If my works should survive me, and I should leave behind me a name, some day perhaps the traveller, guided by these *Memoirs*, may pause for a moment at the spot which I have described. He may recognise the mansion-house, but he would look in vain for the great wood; it has been cut

* Mademoiselle de Rosambo, grand-daughter of M. de Malesherbes, executed with her husband and her mother on the same day as her illustrious grandfather.

down: the cradle of my dreams has vanished like those dreams. The ancient *chateau*, left standing by itself upon its rock, seems to regret the oaks which encompassed and protected it from the tempests. Isolated like it, I have like it beheld the family which embellished my days and lent me its shelter fall around me: Heaven be praised, my life is not so solidly built upon the earth as the towers in which I passed my youth!"

My readers are now acquainted with the traveller, the narrative of whose first peregrinations is about to be laid before them.

TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

I EMBARKED then, as I have stated, at St. Maloes; we stood out to sea, and, on the 6th of May 1791, about eight in the morning, discovered the peak of the island of Pico, one of the Azores. A few hours afterwards we came to an anchor in a wretched road, over a bottom of rocks, off the island of Graciosa. A description of it will be found in the *History of Revolutions*. The precise date of the discovery of this island is not known.

This was the first foreign soil I had ever trodden: for this very reason the recollection which I have retained of it has the impress and vivacity of youth. I have not failed to carry Chactas to the Azores, and to make him discover that famous statue which the first navigators pretended to have found on these shores.

Driven by the winds, after leaving the Azores, upon the bank of Newfoundland, we were obliged

to put into the island of St. Pierre. "T. and myself"—I again quote the *History of Revolutions*, "made an excursion into the mountains of that dreary island. We were enveloped in the fogs with which it is incessantly covered, wandering amid clouds and gusts of wind, listening to the roar of the sea which we could not discover, losing ourselves on a dreary and mossy moor, and on the bank of a reddish torrent, which rolled on among rocks."

The valleys are studded in different parts with that species of pine, the young shoots of which serve to make a bitter beer. The isle is surrounded by several rocks, among which that called the Dove-cote, because the sea-fowl build their nests there in spring, is conspicuous. I have given a description of it in the *Spirit of Christianity*.

The island of St. Pierre is separated from Newfoundland by a strait only, which is rather dangerous: from its desolate shore may be seen the still more desolate coast of Newfoundland. In summer the beach of these islands is covered with fish drying in the sun, and in winter with white bears, which feed on the offal left by the fishermen.

When I was at St. Pierre, the capital of the island consisted, as far as I remember, of a street of considerable length, built along the shore. The inha-

bitants, who are very hospitable, cordially offered us their houses and their tables. The governor resided at the extremity of the town. I dined with him twice or three times. He cultivated some European vegetables in one of the ditches of the fort. I recollect that after dinner he showed me his *garden*, and we then went and sat down at the foot of the flag-staff planted on the fortress. The French flag floated over our heads, while we gazed on a wild sea and the dreary coasts of Newfoundland, and talked of our own country.

After a fortnight's stay, we left the island of St. Pierre, and, steering to the south, reached the latitude of the coasts of Maryland and Virginia: here we were overtaken by calms. We enjoyed a most beautiful sky; the night, sun-rise, and sun-set, were admirable. In the chapter of the *Spirit of Christianity*, entitled *Two Prospects of Nature*, already quoted, I have described one of those scenes of nocturnal pomp, and one of those magnificent sun-sets. "The globe of the sun, ready to plunge into the waves, was seen between the rigging of the ship in the midst of boundless space," &c.

An accident was on the point of putting an end to all my plans.

The heat was oppressive: the ship, in a dead calm,

without sails, and overloaded by her masts, was tossed by the swell. Scorched on the deck, and tired of the motion, I determined to bathe; and though we had no boat out, I threw myself from the bowsprit into the sea. All went on well at first, and several of the passengers followed my example. I swam about without taking any notice of the ship; but, on turning my head, I perceived that the current had already carried her to a considerable distance. The crew had hastened upon deck, and veered a small cable to the other swimmers. Sharks appeared about the ship, and muskets were fired at them from on board, for the purpose of scaring them away. The swell was so great as to delay my return and to exhaust my strength. I had an abyss beneath me, and the sharks were liable every moment to deprive me of an arm or a leg. The crew bestirred themselves to hoist out a boat, but were first obliged to set up a pulley, and this operation took considerable time.

By the greatest good fortune an almost insensible breeze sprang up; the ship, moving a little, approached me; I seized the end of the rope, but my companions in temerity were clinging to it, and when we were drawn to the side of the ship, they bore with all their weight upon me, as I was at the

extremity of the file. We were thus fished up one by one, which took a considerable time. The swell continued, and at each roll of the ship we were plunged ten or a dozen feet in the water, or suspended the same height in the air, like fishes at the end of a line. At the last immersion I was on the point of swooning; another roll and it would have been all over with me. At length I was hoisted half dead upon the deck: had I been drowned it would have been a good riddance for myself and others.

Some days after this accident we descried land, the outline of which was marked by the tops of some trees that seemed to rise from the bosom of the water: the palm-trees at the mouth of the Nile subsequently discovered to me the shore of Egypt in the same manner. A pilot came on board. We entered the bay of Chesapeak, and the same evening a boat was sent off for water and fresh provisions. I joined the party that went ashore, and half an hour after leaving the vessel I trod the soil of America.

I remained some time with my arms crossed, gazing around me with a mixture of feelings and ideas which I could not then unravel, and which I am now unable to describe. This Continent, unknown

to the rest of the world during all the ages of antiquity and a great number of modern ages—the first savage destinies of this Continent, and its second destinies since the arrival of Christopher Columbus—the domination of the monarchies of Europe shaken in this New World—the old society finishing in young America—a republic of a kind hitherto unknown, announcing a change in the human mind and in the political order—the part which my country had borne in these events—those seas and those shores owing their independence in part to the French flag and to French blood—a great man arising at once from amid discord and deserts—Washington dwelling in a flourishing city, where, a century before, William Penn had purchased a piece of land from some Indians—the United States sending to France across the Ocean the revolution and the liberty which France had supported by her arms—lastly, my own designs, the discoveries which I purposed attempting in these native wilds, which still extended their vast empire behind the narrow realm of a foreign civilization: such were the subjects which confusedly engaged my mind.

We advanced towards a house at a considerable distance, to purchase what the occupants might be

willing to sell. We traversed small woods of balsam-trees and Virginia cedars, which perfumed the air. I saw mocking-birds and cardinal-birds flying about, and their notes and colours proclaimed a new climate. A negro girl, fourteen or fifteen years old, of extraordinary beauty, came and opened the gate to a house, which at once resembled an English farm-house and the habitation of a colonist. Herds of cows were grazing in artificial pastures surrounded with a palisade, in which gray, black, and striped squirrels were sporting; some negroes were sawing pieces of timber, while others were at at work in the plantations of tobacco. We bought some cakes made of maize flour, some fowls, eggs, and milk, and returned to our ship at anchor in the bay.

We weighed and stood into the road, and afterwards into the harbour of Baltimore. As we approached Baltimore the water became narrower; it was perfectly calm: it seemed as though we were sailing up a river bordered with long avenues. Baltimore presented itself to our view as if situated at the extremity of a lake. Opposite to the city rose a hill shaded with trees, at the foot of which some houses were begun to be built. We moored at the quay of the port. I slept on board,

and did not go on shore till the following day. I took up my quarters at the inn to which my baggage was conveyed. The students retired with their superior to the establishment prepared for them, whence they have dispersed themselves over America.

Baltimore, like all the other great cities of the United States, was not so extensive as it is at present: it was a handsome town, very clean, and very lively. I paid the captain for my passage, and gave him a farewell dinner at a very good tavern near the harbour. I engaged a place in the stage which ran three times a week to Philadelphia. At four in the morning I took my seat in this vehicle, and there I was, rolling over the high roads of the New World, where I knew nobody and where I was not known to a single creature; my fellow travellers had never seen me, nor was I likely ever to see them again after our arrival in the capital of Pennsylvania.

The road which we travelled was rather marked out than made. The country was very bare and very flat; few birds, few trees, some scattered houses, no villages--such was the aspect of this tract, and it made a disagreeable impression upon me.

On approaching Philadelphia we met with country people going to market, public vehicles and very elegant private carriages. Philadelphia appeared to me to be a fine city: the streets broad; some, planted with trees, intersected each other at right angles, in regular order, from north to south and from east to west. The Delaware runs parallel to the street which borders its western bank: it is a river which would be considerable in Europe, but which is thought nothing of in America. Its banks are low and far from picturesque.

Philadelphia, at the period of my visit (1791), did not yet extend to the Schuylkill; the ground, as you advanced towards that stream, was merely divided into lots, upon which some detached houses were then building.

The aspect of Philadelphia is cold and monotonous. In the cities of the United States in general there is a want of public edifices, and, above all, of ancient edifices. Protestantism, which sacrifices nothing to the imagination, and which is itself new, has not erected those towers and those domes with which the ancient Catholic religion has crowned Europe. At Philadelphia, at New York, at Boston, there is scarcely any thing that rises above the

mass of the walls and roofs. The eye is distressed by this uniform level.

The United States excite rather the idea of a colony than of a mother-country: you there find usages rather than manners. You are sensible that the inhabitants are not natives of the soil: that society, so fair in the present, has no past; the towns are new, the tombs are of yesterday. This it was which led me to observe in *The Natchez:* "The Europeans had as yet no tombs in America when they had already dungeons there. These were the only monuments of the past for that society without ancestors and without recollections."

There is nothing old in America excepting the woods, the offspring of the soil and of liberty, the mother of all human society; these are certainly an equivalent for monuments and ancestors.

A man landing like myself in the United States, full of enthusiasm for the ancients, a Cato seeking wherever he goes the austerity of the primitive manners of Rome, must be exceedingly scandalized to find every where elegance in dress, luxury in equipages, frivolity in conversation, inequality in fortunes, the immorality of gaming-houses, the noise of ball-rooms and of theatres. At Philadelphia I could have fancied myself in an English

town; there was nothing to indicate that I had passed from a monarchy to a republic.

From my *History of Revolutions* it may be seen, that at this period of my life I was a warm admirer of republics: but I did not believe them to be possible in the age of the world at which we had arrived, because I was acquainted only with liberty after the manner of the ancients, liberty the daughter of morals in a nascent society: I was ignorant that there was another liberty, the offspring of knowledge and an ancient civilization; a liberty, the reality of which has been proved by the representative republic. In order to be free, a man is not now-a-days obliged to plough his little field with his own hands, to repel the arts and sciences, to have nails like claws and a filthy beard.

My political *disappointment* no doubt occasioned the spleen which caused me to write the satirical note against the Quakers, and even somewhat against all the Americans, which note may be found in my *History of Revolutions*. In other respects the appearance of the people in the streets of the capital of Pennsylvania was pleasing: the men were decently dressed, the women, especially the Quakeresses, with their uniform bonnet, looked extremely pretty.

I met with several planters from St. Domingo and a few French emigrants. I was impatient to begin my journey to the desert: every body advised me to proceed to Albany, where, being much nearer to the back-settlements and the Indian nations, I should be more likely to meet with guides and to obtain information.

When I arrived at Philadelphia, General Washington was not there. I was obliged to wait a fortnight for his return. I saw him pass in a carriage drawn at a great rate by mettlesome horses, driven four-in-hand. Washington, according to my ideas at that time, was of course Cincinnatus; Cincinnatus in a coach and four somewhat deranged my republic of the year of Rome 296. Could Washington, the dictator, be any other than a clown, urging his oxen with the goad, and holding the handle of the plough? But when I went to deliver my letter of recommendation to this great man, I found in him the simplicity of the old Roman.

A small house in the English style, resembling the neighbouring houses, was the palace of the President of the United States: no guards, nor even footmen. I knocked: a servant-girl opened the door. I enquired if the general was at home; she answered, that he was. I replied, that I had a

letter to deliver to him. The girl asked me my name, which is difficult of pronunciation for an English tongue, and which she could not retain. She then said, mildly, "Walk in, Sir," and conducting me down one of those long, narrow passages, which serve for lobbies to English houses, she ushered me into a parlour, where she requested me to wait for the general.

I was not agitated. Neither greatness of soul, nor superiority of fortune, overawes me: I admire the former without being overwhelmed by it; the latter excites in me more pity than respect. The face of man will never daunt me.

In a few minutes the general entered. He was a man of tall stature, with a calm and cold rather than noble air: the likeness is well preserved in the engravings of him. I delivered my letter in silence: he opened it, and turned to the signature, which he read aloud, with exclamation, "Colonel Armand!" for thus he called, and thus the letter was signed by, the marquis de la Rouairie.

We sat down; I explained to him as well as I could the motive of my voyage. He answered me in French or English monosyllables, and listened to me with a sort of astonishment. I perceived it, and said with some emphasis, "But it is less difficult to

discover the north-west passage than to create a nation as you have done." "Well, well, young man!" cried he, giving me his hand. He invited me to dine with him the following day, and we parted.

I was exact to the appointment. The conversation turned almost entirely on the French revolution. The general showed us a key of the Bastille: those keys of the Bastille were but silly playthings which were about that time distributed over the two worlds. Had Washington seen like me the *conquerors of the Bastille* in the kennels of Paris, he would have had less faith in his relic. The gravity and the energy of the revolution were not in those sanguinary orgies. At the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, the same populace of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine demolished the Protestant church at Charenton with as much zeal as it despoiled the church of St. Denis in 1793.

I left my host at ten in the evening, and never saw him again: he set out for the country the following day, and I continued my journey.

Such was my interview with that man who gave liberty to a whole world. Washington sunk into the tomb before any little celebrity had attached to my name. I passed before him as the most un-

known of beings; he was in all his glory, I in the depth of my obscurity. My name probably dwelt not a whole day in his memory. Happy, however, that his looks were cast upon me! I have felt myself warmed for it all the rest of my life. There is a virtue in the looks of a great man.

I have since seen Buonaparte. Thus Providence has granted me a sight of the two personages whom it pleased to place at the head of the destinies of their respective ages.

If we compare Washington and Buonaparte, man to man, the genius of the former seems of a less elevated order than that of the latter. Washington belongs not, like Buonaparte, to that race of the Alexanders and Cæsars, who surpass the ordinary stature of mankind. Nothing astonishing attaches to his person; he is not placed on a vast theatre; he is not pitted against the ablest captains and the mightiest monarchs of his time; he traverses no seas; he hurries not from Memphis to Vienna and from Cadiz to Moscow: he defends himself with a handful of citizens on a soil without recollections and without celebrity, in the narrow circle of the domestic hearths. He fights none of those battles which renew the triumphs of Arbela and Pharsalia; he overturns no thrones to re-compose others with

their ruins; he places not his foot on the necks of kings; he sends not word to them in the vestibules of his palaces,

Qu'ils se font trop attendre, et qu' Attila s'ennuie.

Something of stillness envelopes the actions of Washington; he acts deliberately: you would say that he feels himself to be the representative of the liberty of future ages, and that he is afraid of compromising it. It is not his own destinies but those of his country with which this hero of a new kind is charged; he allows not himself to hazard what does not belong to him. But what light bursts forth from this profound obscurity! Search the unknown forests where glistened the sword of Washington, what will you find there? graves? no! a world! Washington has left the United States for a trophy of his field of battle.

Buonaparte has not any one characteristic of this grave American: he fights on an old soil, surrounded with glory and celebrity; he wishes to create nothing but his own renown; he takes upon himself nothing but his own aggrandizement. He seems to be aware that his mission will be short, that the torrent which falls from such a height will speedily be exhausted: he hastens to enjoy and to abuse his glory, as men do a fugitive youth. Like the gods

of Homer, he wants to reach the end of the world in four steps: he appears on every shore, he hastily inscribes his name in the annals of every nation; he throws crowns as he runs to his family and his soldiers; he is in a hurry in his monuments, in his laws, in his victories. Stooping over the world, with one hand he overthrows kings, and with the other strikes down the revolutionary giant; but in crushing anarchy he stifles liberty, and finally loses his own in the field of his last battle.

Each is rewarded according to his works: Washington raises his nation to independence: a retired magistrate, he sinks quietly to rest beneath his paternal roof, amid the regrets of his countrymen and the veneration of all nations.

Buonaparte robbed a nation of its independence: a fallen emperor, he is hurried into an exile where the fears of the world deem him not safely enough imprisoned in the custody of the ocean. So long as, feeble and chained upon a rock, he struggles with death, Europe dares not lay down its arms. He expires: this intelligence, published at the gate of the palace before which the conqueror had caused so many funerals to be proclaimed, neither stops nor astonishes the passenger: what had the citizens to deplore?

The republic of Washington subsists, whereas the empire of Buonaparte is destroyed: he died between the first and second voyage of a Frenchman, who found a grateful nation where he had fought for a few oppressed colonists.

Washington and Buonaparte sprang from the bosom of a republic: both born of liberty, the one was faithful to it, the other betrayed it. Their lot in futurity will be as different as their choice.

The name of Washington will spread with liberty from age to age; it will mark the commencement of a new era for mankind.

The name of Buonaparte also will be repeated by future generations; but it will not be accompanied with any benediction, and will frequently serve for authority to oppressors, great or small.

Washington was completely the representative of the wants, the ideas, the knowledge, and the opinions of his time; he seconded instead of thwarting the movement of mind; he aimed at that which it was his duty to aim at: hence the coherence and the perpetuity of his work. This man, who appears not very striking, because he is natural and in his just proportions, blended his existence with that of his country; his glory is the common patrimony of

growing civilization : his renown towers like one of those sanctuaries, whence flows an inexhaustible spring for the people.

Buonaparte might, in like manner, have enriched the public domain : he acted upon the most civilized, the most intelligent, the bravest and the most brilliant nation of the earth. What rank would he occupy at this day in the universe, if he had combined magnanimity with the heroic qualities which he possessed—if, Washington and Buonaparte in one, he had appointed liberty the heir to his glory.

But this prodigious giant did not completely connect his destinies with those of his contemperaries : his genius belonged to modern times, his ambition was of by-gone ages; he did not perceive that the miracles of his life far surpassed the value of a diadem, and that this Gothic ornament would ill become him. Sometimes he advanced a step with the age, at others he retrograded towards the past; and whether he opposed or followed the current of time, by his immense strength he repelled the waves or hurried them along with him. In his eyes men were but an engine of power; no sympathy subsisted between their happiness and his. He promised to deliver and he fettered hem; he secluded

himself from them ; they withdrew from him. The Kings of Egypt placed their sepulchral pyramids not among flourishing fields, but amid sterile sands ; those vast tombs stand like eternity in the desert : in their image Buonaparte built the monument of his renown.

Those who, like me, have beheld the conqueror of Europe and the legislator of America, now turn their eyes from the stage of the world : a few players who excite tears or laughter, are not worth looking at.

A stage similar to that which brought me from Baltimore to Philadelphia, carried me from Philidelphia to New York, a gay, populous, and commercial city, which, however, was then far from being what it is at present. Thence I went on pilgrimage to Boston, to salute the first field of battle of American freedom. "I have seen the plains of Lexington ; I have paused there in silence, like the traveller at Thermopylæ, to contemplate the graves of those warriors of the two worlds who died the first in obedience to the laws of their country. When treading this philosophic ground, which told me in its mute eloquence how empires are lost and erected, I confessed my nothingness before the

ways of Providence, and bowed my forehead in the dust." *

Returning to New York, I embarked in the packet which set sail for Albany, ascending the river Hudson, otherwise called North River.

In a note to the *History of Revolutions* I have described part of my voyage up this river, on the banks of which one of Bonaparte's kings, and what is still more, one of his brothers, is now lost among Washington's republicans. In the same note I have made mention of Major André, that unfortunate young man, concerning whose fate a friend, whose loss I shall never cease to deplore, used such bold and affecting language,† when Buonaparte was about to ascend the throne on which Marie Antoinette had once sat.

On reaching Albany I called upon a Mr. Swift, for whom a letter had been given to me at Philadelphia. This American traded for furs with the Indian tribes comprised in the territory ceded by England to the United States: for in America the civilized powers divide among themselves, without ceremony, lands which do not belong to them. After listening to me, Mr. Swift made some very

* *History of Revolutions.*

† M. de Fontanes, in his *Eloge* on Washington.

rational objections; he told me that I could not undertake an expedition of such importance, at once, alone, unaided, unsupported, without recommendations to the English, American, and Spanish posts, which I should be obliged to pass; that, were I even so fortunate as to traverse without accident so many deserts, I should arrive at icy regions, where I should perish with cold or hunger. He advised me to begin with seasoning myself by an excursion into the interior of America, by making myself acquainted with the Sioux, the Iroquois, and the Esquimaux; to live for some time among the hunters in the Canadian woods and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company. Having acquired this preliminary experience, I might then, with the assistance of the French government, prosecute my hazardous enterprize.

This advice, the correctness of which I could not help acknowledging, thwarted me: I had supposed that I should have nothing to do but to set out immediately, and go straight to the pole, just as you may go from Paris to St. Cloud. I nevertheless concealed my vexation from Mr. Swift. I requested him to procure me a guide and horses, that I might proceed to the fall of Niagara, and thence to Pittsburg, from which place I might de-

scend the Ohio. I had still in my head the original plan of route which I had formed for myself.

Mr. Swift hired for me a Dutchman who spoke several Indian dialects. I bought two horses, and hastened to leave Albany.

The whole country extending between that town and Niagara is now inhabited, cultivated, and traversed by the famous New York canal; but at that time great part of this tract was a waste.

When I found myself, after passing the Mohawk, in woods which had never been subject to the axe, I fell into a sort of intoxication, to which I have thus adverted in the *History of Revolutions*:—"I went from tree to tree, to the right and the left indiscriminately, saying to myself—Here are no more roads to follow, no more towns, no more close houses, no more presidents, republics, or kings.—And to try whether I was at length reinstated in my original rights, I indulged in a thousand whimsical acts, which enraged the tall Dutchman, who officiated as my guide, and who in his heart believed that I was mad."

We entered the ancient territories of the six Iroquois nations. The first Savage we met with was a young man, who was walking before a horse on which rode a female Indian, dressed in the fashion

of her tribe. My guide wished them good day as we passed.

It is already known that I was fortunate enough to be received on the frontiers of the wilderness by one of my countrymen, by the M. Violet, who was dancing-master to the Savages. They paid him for his lessons in beaver skins and bears' hams. "In the midst of a forest appeared a sort of barn; in this barn I found a score of Savages, male and female, bedaubed like conjurors, their bodies half bare, their ears slashed, with raven's feathers on their heads, and rings passed through their nostrils. A little Frenchman, powdered and frizzed in the old fashion, in a pea-green coat, a drugget waistcoat, and muslin frill and ruffles, was scraping away on his kit, and making the Iroquois caper to the tune of Madelon Friquet. In speaking of the Indians, M. Violet always said, *Ces messieurs sauvages*, and *ces dames sauvagesses*. He highly extolled the agility of his scholars; in fact, I never witnessed such gambols. M. Violet, holding his kit between his chin and his chest, tuned the important instrument; he cried out in Iroquois: *To your places!* and the whole company fell a-capering like a band of demons."*

* *Travels in Greece*, &c.

This introduction to savage life, by a ball given to Iroquois Indians by a former scullion of General Rochambaut's, was an extraordinary thing for a disciple of Rousseau's. We pursued our route. I shall now let the manuscript speak for itself: I give it as I find it, sometimes in the form of a narrative, at others in that of a journal; sometimes in letters, and sometimes in mere annotations.

THE ONONDAGAS.

We arrived on the banks of the lake to which the Onondagas, an Iroquois tribe, have given their name. Our horses needed rest. I sought with my Dutchman a spot suitable for our encampment. We found one in a dell, at a place where a river rushes impetuously from the lake. This river has not run one hundred fathoms due north when it turns eastward, and pursues a direction parallel to the bank of the lake, on the outside of the rocks which encircle the latter.

It was in the bend of the river that we prepared our lodging for the night: we planted two tall poles in the ground, and laid a third horizontally across their forks; pieces of birch bark, one end resting upon the earth and the other against the transverse pole, formed a roof worthy of our palace. A fire was kindled to cook our supper, and to drive away the mosquitoes. Our saddles served for pillows under the *ajoupa*, and our mantles for bed-clothes.

We fastened bells to the necks of our horses, and turned them loose in the woods: by an admirable instinct those animals never wander so far as to lose sight of the fire, which their masters kindle at night

to drive away insects, and to defend themselves from serpents.

From the interior of our hut we enjoyed a picturesque view: before us lay the lake, which was rather narrow, and bordered by forests and rocks; around us the river, encircling our peninsula with green and limpid waters, swept past with impetuosity between its banks.

It was not later than four in the afternoon when our establishment was completed: I took my gun and set out on a stroll in the environs. At first I followed the course of the river; my botanical researches were not successful; I found but few varieties of plants. I remarked numerous families of *Plantago virginica*, and of some other meadow-beauties, all very common. I quitted the banks of the river for the shores of the lake, but had not better luck; with the exception of a species of rhododendron, I met with nothing worth stopping for. The flowers of that shrub, of a bright rose colour, produced a charming effect with the blue water of the lake in which they were reflected, and the brown flank of the rock in which they buried their roots.

There were few birds: I perceived but one solitary couple flying about me, and apparently delighting to diffuse movement and love over the immobi-

lity and coldness of this spot. From the colour of the male I knew it to be the white bird, or *Passer nivalis* of ornithologists. I heard also the cry of that species of osprey which has been very aptly characterized by the designation of *Strix exclamator*. This bird is restless, like all tyrants: I fatigued myself to no purpose in the pursuit of it.

The flight of this osprey had conducted me through a wood to a valley cooped up between bare and rocky hills. In this extremely sequestered spot was seen a wretched Indian hut, built midway up the hill among the rocks: a lean cow was grazing in a pasture below.

I have always been fond of these humble retreats: the animal that is hurt crouches in a corner; the unfortunate person is fearful of spreading abroad sentiments which men repel. Weary with my chace, I seated myself on the top of the hill which I was crossing, facing the Indian hut on the opposite hill. Laying my gun beside me, I indulged in one of those reveries the charms of which I have frequently tasted.

I had scarcely passed a few minutes in this situation, when I heard voices at the bottom of the valley. I perceived three men driving five or six fat cows. After they had put them into the pasture, they went

up to the lean cow, which they drove away with sticks.

The appearance of these Europeans in so wild a spot was extremely disagreeable to me: their violence made me dislike them still more. They drove the poor beast among the rocks, with shouts of laughter, exposing her to the danger of breaking her legs. A female savage, apparently as miserable as the cow, came out of the sequestered hut, advanced towards the affrighted animal, gently called her, and offered her something to eat. The cow ran to her, stretching out her neck with a faint lowing expressive of joy. The colonists threatened from a distance the Indian woman, who went back into her cabin. The cow followed her. She stopped at the door, where her friend patted her with her hand, which the grateful animal then licked. The colonists meanwhile retired.

I rose, went down the hill, crossed the valley, and ascending the opposite hill, arrived at the hut, determined to make amends as far as I could for the brutality of the white men. The cow perceived me, and made a motion as if to run away. I advanced cautiously, and reached without scaring her the habitation of her mistress.

The Indian woman had gone within doors. I

pronounced the salutation which I had been taught: *Siégoh!* "I am come." The woman, instead of returning the customary answer to my salutation: "*You are come!*" made no reply. I conjectured that the visit of one of her tyrants was disagreeable to her. I then began in my turn to caress the cow. The Indian looked astonished; I perceived in her sallow and dejected face signs of emotion and almost of gratitude. These mysterious relations of misfortune filled my eyes with tears: there is a pleasure in weeping over afflictions for which none have ever wept before.

My hostess eyed me for some time with an expression of doubt, as though apprehensive that I was seeking to deceive her: she then advanced a few steps, and came and stroked with her hand the face of her companion in misery and solitude.

Encouraged by this mark of confidence, I said in English, for I had got to the end of my Indian: "She is very lean." The woman immediately replied in broken English, "She eats very little." "They drove her unfeelingly away," rejoined I; and the woman answered, "We are both accustomed to that." "This pasture then," I resumed, "is not yours?" "It was my husband's," she replied, "but he is dead. I have no children, and the whites bring their cows to my pasture."

I had nothing to offer to this indigent creature: my intention at first was to solicit justice in her behalf, but to whom was I to apply, in a country where the mixture of Europeans and Indians rendered the authorities confused, where the right of force wrested independence from the Savage, and where the civilized man, having become half savage, had shaken off the yoke of the civil authority?

We parted, the Indian woman and I, after shaking hands. My hostess said many things which I did not understand, and which were no doubt wishes for the prosperity of the stranger. If they were not heard by Heaven, it was not the fault of her who uttered them, but the fault of him for whom these prayers were offered up: all souls have not an equal aptitude for happiness, as all soils are not equally adapted to produce crops.

I returned to my *ajoupa*, where I made a sorry supper. The evening was magnificent; the lake, in profound repose, had not a wrinkle on its surface; the river, murmuring along, bathed our peninsula, which was adorned by false ebony-trees not yet stripped of their flowers; the cuckoo of the Carolinas repeated his monotonous note: sometimes we heard him nearer, at others farther off, according as the bird changed the place of his amorous calls.

Next day I went with my guide to pay a visit to the chief Sachem of the Onondagas, whose village was not far distant. We arrived at this village about ten in the morning. I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of young Savages, who talked to me in their own language, with which they mixed English phrases and some French words: they made a great noise, and appeared to be very merry. These Indian tribes, encompassed by the settlements of the whites, have contracted something of our manners: they have horses and cattle; their huts are provided with furniture and utensils, purchased on the one hand at Quebec, Montreal, Niagara, and Detroit, and on the other in the towns of the United States.

The Sachem of the Onondagas was an old Iroquois, in the strictest sense of the term: his person was a memorial of the ancient usages and the ancient times of the wilderness: large pinked ears, a pearl pendent from the nose, a face bedaubed with various colours, a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head, a blue tunic, a mantle of skin, a leathern belt with the scalping-knife and tomahawk, tattooed arms, mocassins on his feet, and a string or chaplet of shells in his hand.

He received me kindly, and made me sit down on

his mat. The young men got hold of my gun; they took off the lock with astonishing address, and put the pieces together again with the same dexterity: it was a mere double-barrel fowling-piece.

The Sachem spoke English and understood French; my interpreter was acquainted with the Iroquois, so that we had no difficulty in conversing together. The old man told me, among other things, that though his nation had always been at war with mine, he had always felt esteem for the latter. He assured me that the Savages had not ceased to regret the French; he complained of the Americans, who would soon not leave to the nations whose ancestors had received them earth sufficient to cover their bones.

I mentioned to the Sachem the distress of the Indian widow: he told me that this woman was really persecuted, and that he had several times solicited the interference of the American commissioners in her behalf, but had not been able to obtain justice: he added, that formerly the Iroquois would have righted themselves.

The Indian women set before us a repast. Hospitality is the last savage virtue still left to the Indians amidst the vices of European civilization. Every body knows what this hospitality formerly

was: once admitted into a cabin your person was inviolable: the hearth had the power of the altar; it rendered you sacred. The owner of this hearth would have sacrificed his own life before he would have suffered a single hair of your head to be injured.

When a tribe expelled from its forests, or an individual, came to demand hospitality, he or they began what was called the dance of the supplicant. This dance was executed as follows:

The supplicant advanced a few paces, then paused and looked at the party supplicated, and afterwards retired to his first position. The hosts then struck up the song of the stranger: "Here is the stranger, here is the envoy of the Great Spirit!" After the song, a boy came forward, took the stranger by the hand and led him to the cabin. The boy, as he reached the threshold of the door, said—"Here is the stranger!" and the master of the hut replied, "Boy, bring the man into my cabin!" The stranger, entering under the protection of the boy, went, as among the Greeks, and seated himself upon the ashes of the hearth. The calumet of peace was offered to him; he drew three whiffs, and the women chanted the song of consolation: "The stranger has again found a mother and a wife: the sun will again rise and set for him as before."

A consecrated bowl was filled with maple juice: it was a calebash or a stone vase which usually stood in the chimney corner, and on which was placed a crown of flowers. The stranger drank half the liquor and passed the bowl to his host, by whom it was emptied.

The day after my visit to the chief of the Onondagas I continued my journey. This aged chief had been present at the taking of Quebec, and at the death of General Wolfe; and I, who was quitting the hut of a savage, had recently escaped from the palace of Versailles, and was just come from the table of Washington.

As we approached Niagara the road became more toilsome; indeed it was only indicated by its being cleared of trees. The trunks of these trees served as bridges over the rivulets, or as fascines in the quagmires. The American population was then pouring towards the grants in Tenessee. The government of the United States sold these grants at a higher or lower price according to the nature of the soil, the quality of the trees, and the course and number of the rivers.

The new settlements exhibited a curious mixture of the state of nature and the civilized condition. In the corner of a forest which had never rung but

with the shouts of the Savage and the braying of the fallow-deer, you met with cultivated lands; you perceived from the same point of view the hut of of an Indian and the habitation of a planter. Some of these habitations, already completed, reminded you by their neatness of English or Dutch farm-houses; while others were but half finished, and had no other roof than the dome of a spreading tree.

I was received into these dwellings of a day; I frequently found in them a charming family, with all the conveniences, nay, even the elegances of Europe—mahogany furniture, piano-forte, carpets, mirrors, and all within four paces of the hut of an Iroquois. In the evening, when the servants returned from the woods or the fields, with the axe or the plough, the windows were thrown open; the youthful daughters of my host sang, while accompanying themselves on the piano, the music of Paësiello and Cimarosa, in sight of the wilderness, and sometimes to the distant murmur of a waterfall.

In the best situations villages were erecting. It is impossible to conceive the feelings and the delight experienced on seeing the spire of a new steeple rising from the bosom of an ancient American forest. As English manners stick to the English wherever they are, so, after traversing countries where there

were no traces of inhabitants, I perceived the sign of an inn dangling from the branch of a tree by the road side, and swinging to and fro in the wind of the desert. Hunters, planters, Indians, met at these caravanserais; but the first time I slept in one of them I vowed it should be the last.

One evening, on entering one of these singular inns, I was astounded at the sight of an immense bed constructed in a circular form round a post; each traveller came and took his place in this bed, with his feet to the post in the centre, and his head at the circumference of the circle, so that the sleepers were ranged symmetrically, like the spokes of a wheel, or the sticks of a fan. After some hesitation, I took my place in this singular machine, because I saw nobody in it. I was just dropping asleep when I felt a man's leg rubbing along mine: it was my great devil of a Dutchman's who was stretching himself beside me. I never was so horrified in my life. I leaped out of this hospitable contrivance, cordially execrating the good old customs of our good old ancestors, and went and lay down in my cloak in the moonshine: this companion of the traveller's couch was nothing less than agreeable, cool, and pure.

Here is a chasm in the manuscript, or rather the substance of that portion has been inserted in my other works. After a journey of several days, I reached the river Genesee. On the other side of that river I witnessed the miracle of the rattle-snake attracted by the sound of a flute :* farther on I met with a family of Savages, and passed the night with that family, at some distance from the fall of Niagara. The account of that meeting, and the description of that night are to be found in the *History of Revolutions* and the *Spirit of Christianity*.

The Savages about the fall of Niagara in the English territory, were appointed to guard the frontier of Upper Canada in that quarter. They came to meet us armed with bows and arrows, and prevented us from passing.

I was obliged to send the Dutchman to Fort Niagara to solicit the governor's permission to enter the territory of his Britannic Majesty: this wrung my heart a little, for I bethought me that France had formerly commanded in these countries. My guide returned with the permission, which I still preserve: it is signed "Gordon, captain." Is it not singular that I should have found the same English name over the door of my cell in Jerusalem?†

* *Spirit of Christianity.* † *Travels in Greece, &c.*

I sojourned two days in the village of the Savages. The manuscript furnishes in this place the minute of a letter which I wrote to one of my friends in France. It is as follows:

Letter written among the Savages of Niagara.

I must relate to you what occurred yesterday morning among my hosts. The grass was still covered with dew; the wind wafted perfume from the forests; the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree were laden with the cocoons of a species of silk-worm, and the cotton-plants of the country, reversing their expanded capsules, resembled white rose-bushes.

The women, assembled at the foot of a thick purple beech, were engaged in various occupations. Their youngest infants were slung in hammocks to the branches of the tree: the breeze of the forest rocked these aërial cradles with an almost insensible motion. The mothers rose from time to time to see if their children were asleep, or if they had been awakened by the multitude of birds which were singing and fluttering about. It was a charming scene.

The interpreter and I were sitting apart with the

warriors, to the number of seven; we had each a long pipe in our mouths: two or three of these Indians spoke English.

Some boys were at play at a little distance; but amid their sports, whether leaping, running, or throwing balls, they uttered not a word. You heard none of the stunning clamour of European children: these young Savages bounded like kids, and were silent as they. A great boy seven or eight years old, would sometimes leave his companions, go to his mother for suck, and then return to his sports with his playfellows.

The child is never weaned by force: after making a meal on other food, it drains the mother's breast, like the cup which is emptied at the conclusion of a feast. If the whole nation were perishing with hunger, the child would still find a source of life in the maternal bosom. This custom is probably one of the causes which prevent the American tribes from increasing so fast as European families.

The fathers spoke to the children, and the children answered the fathers. I inquired of my Dutchman the purport of this colloquy, and he gave me the following account of it:

A Savage of about thirty called his son, and begged him not to leap so violently. The boy replied,

It is reasonable—and returned to his play without heeding in the least what his father had said to him.

The boy's grandfather called him in his turn, and said, *Do such a thing*, and the little boy did it. Thus he disobeyed his father who *requested*, and obeyed his grandfather who *commanded*. The father is held in but little respect by the child.

The latter is never chastised: he acknowledges no other authority than that of age and his mother. The crime reputed most heinous and unexampled among the Indians is that of a son rebelling against his mother. When she becomes old he supports her.

With regard to the father, while he is young the child cares not for him; but when he is further advanced in years his son honours him, not as a father, but as an old man, that is to say, a person of experience, and capable of giving good advice.

This method of bringing up children in all their independence might be expected to render them ill-tempered and capricious; the children of the Savages, however, are neither the one nor the other, because they wish for nothing but what they know they can obtain. If a child happens to cry for something which his mother does not possess, he is told to go and take that thing wherever he has seen it: now, as he is not the stronger, and is sensible

of his weakness, he forgets the object which he coveted. If the young Savage obeys nobody, nobody obeys him—herein consists the whole secret of his gaiety or of his reason.

The Indian children never quarrel or fight: they are neither noisy, intermeddling, nor peevish: in their look they have a something serious as happiness, noble as independence.

We could not bring up our youth in this manner; we should first be obliged to get rid of our vices: now, we find it easier to bury them in the hearts of our children, merely taking care to prevent these vices from appearing externally.

When the young Indian feels a fondness for fishing, hunting, war, politics, springing up within him, he studies and imitates the arts which he sees his father practise: he then learns to sew a canoe, to make a net, to manage the bow, the musket, the tomahawk, the hatchet, to fell a tree, to build a hut, to explain the *belts*. What is an amusement for the son becomes an authority for the father: the right conferred by the strength and intelligence of the latter is acknowledged, and this right raises him by degrees to the power of Sachem.

The girls enjoy the same liberty as the boys: they do nearly what they please, but they stay more with

their mothers, who instruct them in household duties. When an Indian girl has misbehaved, her mother merely sprinkles water in her face, and says, *Thou art a disgrace to me.* This reproach seldom fails of producing the desired effect.

We remained till noon at the door of the hut: the sun had become scorching. One of our hosts advanced toward the little boys, and said to them, *Children, the sun will eat your heads, go and sleep,* —*'Tis very true,*—they all exclaimed; and by way of manifesting their obedience, they continued their play, after they had admitted that the sun would *eat* their heads.

But the women rose, one showing *sagamité* in a wooden bowl, another a favourite fruit, and a third unrolling a mat to lie down upon: they called the obstinate troop, subjoining to each name some term of endearment. The children instantly flew, like a covey of birds, to their mothers. The women laid hold of them laughing, and each, with considerable difficulty carried off her son, who ate in his mother's arms what she had given him.

Adieu: I know not if this letter, written amidst the forests, will ever reach you.

From the village of the Indians I proceeded to

the fall of Niagara: the description of this cataract, placed at the end of *Atala* is too well known to be repeated here; besides, it forms part of a note also in the *History of Revolutions:* but in the same note there are some particulars so intimately connected with the history of my Travels, that it may not be amiss to introduce them in this place.

At the fall of Niagara, the Indian ladder which was formerly there being broken, I resolved, in spite of the remonstrances of my guide, to venture upon the descent to the bottom of the cataract by a peaked rock two hundred feet in height. Notwithstanding the roaring of the fall and the tremendous abyss which boiled below me, I was not at all dizzy, and arrived within forty feet of the bottom. Here the smooth and vertical rock presented neither root nor cleft for a footing. I remained suspended at full length by my hands, unable either to get up or down; I felt my fingers, tired of supporting the weight of my body, ready to give way, and inevitable death stared me in the face. Few men have in their lives passed two such minutes as I then numbered, hanging over the abyss of Niagara. At length my hands opened, and I fell. By the most unparalleled good fortune, I found myself on the solid rock, where I should have expected to be dashed

into a thousand pieces, and yet I did not feel much hurt. I was within half an inch of the abyss, and had not rolled into it: but when the cold from the water began to penetrate me, I perceived that I had not come off so well as I had at first imagined. I felt an insupportable pain in my left arm; I had broken it below the elbow. My guide, who was looking at me from above, and to whom I made a sign, ran and fetched some Savages, who with great difficulty drew me up with ropes of birch bark, and carried me to their habitation.

This was not the only risk that I ran at Niagara: on my arrival I had repaired to the fall, having the bridle of my horse twisted sound my arm. While I was stooping to look down, a rattlesnake stirred among the neighbouring bushes; the horse was startled, reared, and ran back towards the abyss. I could not disengage my arm from the bridle, and the horse, more and more frightened, dragged me after him. His fore-legs were all but off the ground, and squatting on the brink of the precipice, he was upheld merely by the bridle. I gave myself up for lost, when the animal, himself astonished at this new danger, made a fresh effort, threw himself forward with a pirouette, and sprang to the distance of ten feet from the edge of the abyss.

I had come off with a simple fracture of my arm: a couple of laths, a bandage, and a sling, were sufficient for my cure. My Dutchman would not go any farther; I paid him, and he returned home. I made a fresh bargain with some Canadians of Niagara, who had part of their family at St. Louis, in the Illinois, on the Mississipi.

The manuscript now presents a general survey of the lakes of Canada.

LAKES OF CANADA.

The surplus waters of Lake Erie are discharged into Lake Ontario, after they have formed the fall of Niagara. The Indians found about Lake Ontario white balsam in the balsam-tree, sugar in the maple, the walnut, and the cherry-tree, a red dye in the bark of the *perousse*, and roofs for their huts in the bark of the white wood: they found vinegar in the red berries of the vinegar-shrub, honey and cotton in the flowers of the wild asparagus, oil for their hair in the sunflower, and a panacea for wounds in the *universal plant*. The Europeans have superseded these gifts of nature by the productions of art: the Savages have disappeared.

Lake Erie is more than a hundred leagues in circumference. The nations which peopled its banks were exterminated two centuries ago by the Iroquois; a few roving hordes afterwards infested the countries in which they durst not settle.

It is a frightful thing to see the Indians venturing in bark boats on this lake, which is subject to tremendous storms. Hanging their Manitous to the stern of their canoes, they dash, amid whirlwinds of snow, into the agitated billows. These

billows, on a level with the gunwale of the canoes, or rising above it, seem on the point of engulphing them. The dogs of the hunters, standing up with their fore-paws on the edge of the canoe, howl piteously; while their masters, maintaining a profound silence, strike the water in cadence with their paddles. The canoes advance in a line: at the prow of the first stands a chief, who cries incessantly *Oah*, the first vowel in a high, short note, and the second in a low, long note: in the last canoe there is another chief, also standing, and working a great oar in the form of a tiller. The other warriors are seated cross-legged at the bottom of the canoes: through the fog, the snow, and the waves, you perceive nothing but the feathers with which the heads of these Indians are adorned, the outstretched necks of the howling dogs, and the shoulders of the two Sachems, pilot and augur: you would take them for the gods of these waters.

Lake Erie is famous also for its serpents. In the western part of this lake, from Viper Islands to the shores of the continent, over a space of more than twenty miles are spread large water-lilies: in summer the leaves of these plants are covered with serpents entwined in one another. When the reptiles happen to move in the sunshine, you see them roll their

rings of azure, purple, gold, and ebony; in these horrible knots, doubly and trebly formed, you can distinguish nothing but sparkling eyes, tongues with a triple dart, throats of fire, tails armed with stings or rattles, which whisk about in the air like whips. A continual hissing, a noise similar to the rustling of dead leaves in a forest, issue from this impure Cocytus.

The strait which opens a passage from Lake Huron to Lake Erie derives its celebrity from its woods and pastures. Lake Huron abounds in fish: the *artikamegue*, and trout weighing two hundred pounds, are caught in it. The island of Mantimoulin was once famous: it contained the remnant of the nation of the Ontaways, who were descendants, according to the Indians, of the Great Beaver. It has been observed that the water of Lake Huron, as well as that of Lake Michigan, increases for seven months, and diminishes in the like proportion during the next seven. All these lakes have a more or less perceptible ebb and flood.

Lake Superior occupies a space of more than four degrees, between the 46th and 50th degrees of north latitude, and not fewer than eight degrees, between the 87th and 95th of longitude west from the meridian of Paris; that is to say, this inland

sea is one hundred leagues broad, and about two hundred in length, with a circumference of nearly six hundred leagues.

Forty rivers pour their waters into this immense basin: two of them, the Allinipigon and the Michipicroton, are considerable streams; the latter rises in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay.

The lake is adorned with islands; among others, Maurepas Island, off the north coast; Pontchartrain Island, off the east coast; Minong Island, toward the southern part; and the island of the Great Spirit, or Island of Souls, in the west. The latter might constitute the territory of a state in Europe, measuring thirty-five leagues in length and twenty in width.

The remarkable capes of the lake are: Point Kioucounan, a kind of isthmus running two leagues into the waters; Cape Minabeaujou, resembling a lighthouse; Cape Thunder, near the bay of the same name; and Cape Rochedebout, which rises perpendicularly from the beach, like a broken obelisk.

The south shore of Lake Superior is low, sandy, and destitute of shelter; the north and east coasts, on the contrary, are mountainous, and exhibit a succession of sharp-pointed rocks. The lake itself

is scooped in the rock. Through its green and transparent water the eye discerns, at the depth of more than thirty and forty feet, masses of granite of different shapes, and some of which look as if they had been recently sawed by the hand of the workman. When the voyager, leaving his canoe to drift along, and leaning over its edge, contemplates the crest of these submarine mountains, he cannot enjoy the sight for any length of time; his eyes become dim, and he turns dizzy.

Struck with the extent of this reservoir of water, the imagination expands with space: agreeably to the common instinct of all mankind, the Indians have attributed the formation of this immense basin to the same power which rounded the vault of the firmament: to the admiration excited by the view of Lake Superior they have added the solemnity of religious ideas.

These Savages have been induced to make this lake the principal object of their worship by the air of mystery which Nature has been pleased to attach to one of her grandest works. Lake Superior has an irregular ebb and flood: its waters, during the most intense heats of summer, are as cold as ice six inches beneath their surface; and they rarely

freeze in the severe winters of these climates even when the sea itself is frozen.

The productions of the earth round the lake vary according to the different soils: on the east coast nothing is to be seen but forests of rickety maples, blown down, and growing almost horizontally in the sand; to the north, wherever the solid rock leaves some dell, some slope of a valley for vegetation, you see gooseberry-bushes without thorns, and garlands of a species of vine bearing fruit resembling the raspberry, but of a paler rose-colour. Single pines arise here and there from among those shrubs.

Among the great number of landscapes presented by these solitudes, two are particularly worthy of notice.

On entering Lake Superior by the Strait of St. Mary you perceive on the left some islands curving in a semicircle, and which, being all planted with flowering trees, look like nosegays standing in water. On the right the capes of the continent project into the waves; some of them are clothed with a greensward which blends its verdure with the double azure of the sky and the water; others, composed of a red and white sand, resemble stripes

of inlaid-work at the bottom of the bluish lake. Between these long bare capes are interspersed blunt promontories, covered with woods, which are reflected upside down in the crystal mirror beneath. Sometimes, the trees standing close together, form a thick curtain along the shore; at others, farther apart, they border the land like avenues; at such times their distant trunks permit the eye to obtain glimpses of wonderful views. The plants, the rocks, the colours, diminish in size or change their tints according as the landscape recedes from or draws nearer to the sight.

These islands in the south, and these promontories in the east, inclining to the west towards one another, form and embrace a vast road, which is calm when tempests convulse the other parts of the lake. Here sport myriads of fish and water-fowl: the black duck of Labrador perches on the point of a breaker, the waves environ this anchorite in mourning with festoons of their white foam; divers plunge beneath the waters, re-appear, and again vanish; the bird of the lakes skims the surface of the waves, and the kingfisher quickly flaps his azure wings to fascinate his prey.

Beyond the islands and promontories enclosing this road, at the outlet of the Strait of St. Mary, the

eye discovers the liquid and boundless plains of the lake. The moveable surfaces of these plains rise and are gradually lost in the distance: from emerald green they pass to a light blue, then to ultramarine, and then to indigo. Each tint dissolving into the next, the last terminates at the horizon, where it joins the sky by a bar of dark azure.

This landscape, on the lake itself, is properly a summer landscape; it ought to be enjoyed when Nature is calm and smiling: the second landscape is, on the contrary, a winter landscape; it requires a tempestuous and naked season.

Near the river Allinipigon rises an enormous and isolated rock, which overlooks the lake. To the west stretches a chain of rocks, some lying, others planted in the soil, these lifting into the air their bare peaks, those their rounded summits; their green, red, and black sides retain the snow in their clefts, and thus blend the colour of alabaster with that of the granites and porphyries.

There grow some of those trees of pyramidal form which Nature intermingles with her grand architecture and her grand ruins, as columns to her edifices, standing or fallen: the pine shoots up from the plinths of rocks, and plants bristling with icicles hang drooping from their cornices. You might

take them for the ruins of a city in the deserts of Asia: pompous monuments, which before their fall towered above the woods, and which now bear forests on their humbled tops.

Behind the chain of rocks which I have just described, a narrow valley runs like a trench: in the middle of it flows the River of the Tomb. This valley presents in summer nothing but a sickly yellow moss; stripes of fungi, with crowns of different colours, border the interstices of the rocks. In this desert covered with snow, the hunter discovers in winter the birds or the quadrupeds clothed in white by the cold merely by the coloured bills of the former, and the black muzzles and red eyes of the latter. At the extremity of the valley, and far beyond it, you discern the tops of the hyperborean mountains, in which God has placed the sources of the four mightiest rivers of North America. Born in the same cradle, they discharge themselves, after a course of twelve hundred leagues, at the four points of the horizon, into four oceans: the Mississipi is lost to the south in the Gulph of Mexico; the St. Lawrence pours, to the east, into the Atlantic; the Ontaway empties itself, to the north, into the Polar Sea; and West River rolls in the direction from

which it is named, the tribute of its waters to the ocean of Nontouka.*

This survey of the lakes is followed by the commencement of a journal which bears no other indication than that of the hours.

* Such was the erroneous geography of the time; we now know better.

JOURNAL WITHOUT DATE.

The sky is serene over my head, the water limpid beneath my canoe, which scuds before a light breeze. On my left rise peaked hills, flanked with rocks, from which hang convolvuluses with white and blue flowers, festoons of bignonias, long grasses, and rock-plants of all colours: on my right extend immense pastures. As the canoe advances, new scenes and new points of view open upon me: sometimes they are solitary and smiling valleys, at others naked hills; here, it is a forest of cypresses, the dark porticoes of which meet the eye; there, it is a light wood of maples, through which the sunshine plays as through lace.

Primitive liberty, at last I have found thee! I pass like that bird which flies before me, which pursues its way at random, and is embarrassed only by the choice of shades. Here I am such as the Almighty created me, sovereign of nature, borne triumphant over the waters. While the inhabitants of the rivers accompany my canoe, those of the air sing me their hymns, the beasts of the earth salute me, and the forests bow their tops as I pass. Is it on the brow of the man of society or on mine that

the seal of our immortal origin is stamped? Run and shut yourselves up in your cities; go, submit to your petty laws; earn your bread in the sweat of your brow; live on the pittance of poverty; slaughter one another for a word, for a master; doubt the existence of God, or adore him under superstitious forms — while I will roam my wilds; not a single throb of my heart shall be repressed, not one of my thoughts shall be fettered: I shall be free as nature, acknowledging no sovereign but Him who lighted up the suns, and who with a single motion of his hand set all the worlds revolving in their spheres.*

Seven P.M.

We crossed the fork of the river, and followed the south-east branch. We sought along the channel for a creek where we might land. We entered one which runs under a promontory covered with a wood of tulip-trees. Having drawn our canoe ashore, some collected dry branches for our fire, while others prepared the *ajoupa*. I took my gun, and penetrated into the neighbouring wood.

I had not proceeded a hundred paces into it before I perceived a flock of turkeys busily feeding on the berries of ferns, and the fruit of the lote-

* I leave all these effusions of youth, which the reader will doubtless forgive.

tree. These birds differ much from those of their family naturalized in Europe: they are larger; their plumage is slate-coloured, tipped on the neck, the back, and the extremities of the wings, with a copper-red; and according to the reflection of the light it glistens like burnished gold. These wild turkeys frequently assemble in large numbers. At night they perch on the tops of the highest trees: at dawn, their repeated cries are heard from these lofty posts, but soon after sun-rise their clamour ceases, and they fly down into the forests.

We rose very early, to take advantage of the cool of the morning; the baggage was carried on board, and we unfurled our sail. On either side we had high lands covered with forests, the foliage of which displayed all imaginable hues — scarlet passing to red, a dark yellow to a bright gold colour, reddish brown to light brown, green, white, azure, in a thousand tints more or less faint, more or less bright. Close to us there was all the variety of the prism; at a distance, in the windings of the valley, the colours were blended and lost in velvet-like grounds. The trees harmonized their forms together, some spreading out into the shape of a fan, others shooting up into cones, others swelling into globes, and others being cut into pyramids: but we must be content

with the enjoyment of this sight, without attempting to describe it.

Ten A. M.

We advance slowly; the breeze has ceased, and the channel begins to be narrow. The sky is becoming overcast.

Noon.

It is impossible to ascend higher in the canoe; we must now change our mode of travelling: we shall drag our canoe ashore, take out our provisions, arms, and furs for the night, and penetrate into the woods.

Three o'clock.

Who can describe the feelings that are experienced on entering these forests, coeval with the world, and which alone afford an idea of the creation, such as it issued from the hands of the Almighty. The light falling from above, through a veil of foliage, diffuses through the recesses of the wood a changing and moveable chiaro-scuro, which gives to objects a fantastic grandeur. Every now and then you have to climb over prostrate trees, upon which grow other generations of trees. In vain I seek an outlet in these wilds; deceived by a stronger light, I advance through grass, nettles, mosses, lianes, and deep mould, composed of the remains of vegetables;

but I arrive only at an open spot formed by some fallen pines. The forest soon becomes darker again; the eye discerns nothing but the trunks of oaks and walnut-trees, succeeding each other, and appearing to stand closer and closer according to their distance: the idea of infinity presents itself to my mind.

Six o'clock.

Having got a glimpse of another light spot, I proceeded towards it. Here I am at the point itself: — a spot more melancholy than the forests by which it is surrounded. It is an ancient Indian cemetery. Let me rest awhile in this double solitude of death and nature: is there an asylum in which I should like better to sleep for ever?

Seven o'clock.

Being unable to get out of these woods we have encamped in them. The reflexion of our fire extends to a distance: illumined from below by the scarlet light, the foliage looks as if tinged with blood; the trunks of the nearest trees rise like columns of red granite; but the more distant, scarcely reached by the light, resemble in the depths of the wood pale phantoms ranged in a circle on the margin of profound night.

Midnight.

The fire begins to die away; the circle of its light diminishes. I listen: an awful calm rests upon these forests; you would say that silence succeeds silence. In vain I strive to hear in a universal tomb some noise indicative of life. Whence proceeds that sigh? from one of my companions: he expresses pain, though asleep. Thou livest then, thou sufferest—such is man!

Half past Twelve.

The repose continues, but the decrepid tree snaps asunder: it falls. The forests re-bellow; a thousand voices are raised. The sounds soon subside; they die away in almost imaginary distances: silence again pervades the desert.

One A. M.

Here comes the wind; it runs over the tops of the trees; it shakes them as it passes over my head. Now it is like the wave of the sea, sadly breaking against the shore.

Sounds have awakened sounds. The forest is all harmony. Are they the full tones of the organ that I hear, while lighter sounds wander through vaults of verdure? A short silence succeeds; the aërial music begins again: every where soft complaints, murmurs, which comprize within them-

selves other murmurs; each leaf speaks a different language, each blade of grass has its particular note.

An extraordinary noise is heard: it proceeds from that frog which imitates the bellowing of the bull. From all parts of the forest, the bats, clinging to the foliage, raise their monotonous voices: you might fancy that you heard a continued knell, or the tolling of the funeral bell. Every thing conveys to us some idea of death, because that idea is at the bottom of life.

Ten A. M.

We have resumed our route, and descended to an inundated valley: branches of oak-willow extended from one bunch of reed to another served us for a bridge to cross the morass. We are cooking our dinner at the foot of a hill covered with wood, which we shall presently climb, to look out for the river that we are in quest of.

One o'clock.

We are again pursuing our course: the moor-game promise us a good supper this evening.

The road becomes steep, the trees rare; a slippery heath covers the side of the mountain.

Six o'clock.

We have reached the summit: below us nothing is to be seen but the tops of the trees. A few

isolated crags rise out of this ocean of verdure, like elevated rocks above the surface of the sea. The carcase of a dog, hanging from a pine branch, indicates an Indian sacrifice offered to the Spirit of this desert. A torrent precipitates itself at our feet, and presently unites with a small river.

Four A. M.

The night has been peaceful. We have resolved to return to our boat, because we have no hope of finding a way through these woods.

Nine o'clock.

We breakfasted beneath an aged willow, quite covered with convolvuluses, and eaten up by large toadstools. But for the mosquitoes this place would have been very agreeable: we were obliged to make a great smoke with green wood to drive away our enemies. The guides announced a visit from some travellers, who might be about two hours' march from the place where we were. This acuteness of hearing is absolutely wonderful; many an Indian can hear the steps of another Indian at the distance of four or five hours' journey, by clapping his ear to the ground. In about two hours we were actually joined by a family of Savages, who set up a shout of welcome, which we joyfully answered.

Noon.

Our visiters inform us that they have heard us for two days past; that they knew we belonged to the white skins, as the noise which we made in our march was greater than the noise made by red skins. I inquired the cause of this difference, and was told that it arose from the mode of breaking the branches and clearing a way. The white also reveals his race by the heaviness of his tread; the sound which he produces does not progressively increase: the European turns in the wood; the Indian proceeds in a right line.

The Indian family is composed of two women, a child, and three men. Returning together to the boat, we have made a great fire on the bank of the river. Mutual kindness prevails among us: the women have cooked our supper, consisting of salmon-trout and a large turkey. We warriors smoke and chat together. To-morrow our visiters will assist to carry our canoe to a river which is but five miles from the spot where we are.

Here finishes the journal. A detached page which follows it transports us into the midst of the Apalachian mountains. It is subjoined:

The Apalachian mountains are not, like the Alps

and the Pyrennees, mountains piled irregularly upon one another, rising above the clouds, and having their summits covered with snow. To the west and north they resemble perpendicular walls of some thousand feet, from the top of which descend the rivers that fall into the Ohio and Mississipi. In this sort of great chasm are seen paths winding with the torrents through the precipices. These paths and these torrents are bordered by a species of pine, the top of which is of a sea-green colour, while the trunk, almost lilach, is dotted with dark spots produced by a flat black moss.

Towards the south and east the Apalachians are scarcely deserving of the name of mountains: they gradually subside to the tract bordering on the Atlantic; they pour upon this tract other rivers which fecundate forests of evergreen oaks, maple, walnut, mulberry, chesnut, pines, firs, copalms, magnolias, and a thousand species of flowering shrubs.

After this short fragment comes a piece of considerable length on the course of the Ohio and of the Mississipi, from Pittsburg to Natchez. This part opens with a description of the monuments of the Ohio. The *Spirit of Christianity* contains a passage and a note respecting the monuments; but

what I have written in that passage and note differs in many points from what I here submit to the reader.*

Figure to yourself remains of fortifications or buildings, occupying an immense space. Four kinds of works are remarkable in them: square bastions, moons, half moons, and *tumuli*. The bastions, moons, and half-moons, are regular; the ditches broad and deep, the entrenchment made of earth, with parapets in the form of inclined planes; but the angles of the glacis correspond

* Since I wrote that Dissertation, scientific men and American Antiquarian Societies have published *Memoirs on the Ruins of the Ohio*. They are curious in two respects:

1st. They record the traditions of the Indian tribes; those Indian tribes all assert that they came from the West to the shores of the Atlantic, a century or two (as far as we can judge) before the discovery of America by the Europeans; that, in their long marches, they had to combat many nations, particularly on the banks of the Ohio, &c.

2dly. The *Memoirs* of scientific Americans mention the discovery of certain idols found in graves; which idols have a purely Asiatic character. It is very certain that a much more civilized people than the present Savages of America once flourished in the valley of the Ohio and Mississipi. When and how did it perish? That we shall never learn. The *Memoirs* in question are much less known than they deserve to be. I give them at the end of this volume.

with those of the ditches, and are not inscribed like the parallelogram in the polygon.

The *tumuli* are burial-places of a circular form. Some of these graves have been opened; at the bottom has been found a coffin composed of four stones, in which were human bones. Over this coffin was another coffin, containing another skeleton, and so on to the top of the pyramid, which might be from twenty to thirty feet high.

These buildings cannot be the work of the present nations of America: the people who erected them must have possessed a knowledge of the arts, superior even to that of the Mexicans and the Peruvians.

Ought these to be attributed to the modern Europeans? I find no account of any that penetrated in ancient times into the Floridas, but Ferdinand de Soto; and he never advanced beyond a village of the Chickasaws on one of the branches of the Mobile: besides, with a handful of Spaniards, how could he have thrown up all that earth, and for what purpose?

Was it the Carthaginians and the Phœnicians of old who, in their trading voyages round Africa and to the Cassiterides, were driven to the continent of America? In this case, before they had pe-

netrated further westward they must have formed settlements on the coasts of the Atlantic; how happens it then that we find not the least trace of their passage in Virginia, Georgia, and the Floridas? Neither the Phœnicians nor the Carthaginians interred their dead as the dead are interred in the fortifications of the Ohio. The Egyptains did something of the sort, but the mummies were embalmed, and those in the American tombs are not: it cannot be alleged that the ingredients were wanting here: gums, resins, camphors, salts, abound every where.

May Plato's Atlantis have once existed? Was Africa ever joined in unknown ages to America? Be this as it may, a nation of which we know nothing, a nation superior to the Indian tribes of the present day, has dwelt in these wilds. What nation was this? What revolution has swept it away? When did this event happen? Questions which launch us into the immensity of the past, in which nations are swallowed up like dreams.

The works of which I am treating are situated at the mouth of the great Miami, at that of the Muskingum, at the Creek of the Tombs, and on one of the branches of the Scioto; those which border the latter river occupy a space of more than two hours' march, descending towards the Ohio. In Kentucky,

along the Tenessee, among the Siminoles you cannot stir a step without perceiving some vestiges of these monuments.

The Indians agree in stating that when their forefathers came from the west, they found the works on the Ohio in the same state in which they appear at present. But the date of this migration of the Indians from west to east varies according to the nations. The Chickasaws, for example, arrived in the forests which cover the fortifications no more than two centuries ago; they were seven years in performing their journey, marching but once in each year, and taking with them horses which they stole from the Spaniards, before whom they retired.

Another tradition alleges that the works on the Ohio were erected by *white* Indians. These *white* Indians came, according to the *red* Indians, from the east; and when they left the shoreless lake (the sea), they were dressed like the white skins of the present day.

On this slight tradition has been founded the story that about the year 1170, Ogan, a Prince of Wales, or his son Madoc, embarked with a great number of his subjects,* and landed in an unknown

* This is merely a different version of the Icelandic traditions, and of the poetic stories of the *Sagas*.

country in the west. But is it possible to imagine that the descendants of these Welsh constructed the works on the Ohio: and that nevertheless they could lose all knowledge of the arts, and be reduced to a handful of warriors, roving in the woods like the other Indians?

It has likewise been asserted, that there are, at the sources of the Missouri, numerous and civilized nations dwelling in military inclosures, like those on the banks of the Ohio; that these nations keep horses and other domestic quadrupeds; that they have towns and high roads; and that they are governed by kings.*

The religious tradition of the Indians relative to the monuments of their deserts does not coincide with their historical tradition. Amidst these works, say they, there is a cavern: this cavern is the abode of the Great Spirit; and in this cavern the Great Spirit created the Chickasaws. The country was

* The sources of the Missouri are now known; none but savages have been found in those regions. We must also class among fables the story of a church, in which a Bible is said to have been found, which Bible could not be read by the *white* Indians to whom the temple belonged, and who had lost the art of writing. For the rest, the colonisation of the Russians in the north-west of America may possibly have given rise to these reports of a white nation residing near the sources of the Missouri.

then covered with water; seeing which the Great Spirit built walls of earth to keep the Chickasaws dry above them.

Let us proceed to the description of the course of the Ohio. The Ohio is formed by the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany; the former rising in the south, in the Apalachian or Blue Mountains; the latter in another chain of those mountains in the north between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario; by means of a short portage, the Alleghany communicates with the first-mentioned lake. The two rivers join below the fort formerly called Fort Duquesne, now Fort Pitt, or Pittsburg; their conflux is at the foot of a high hill of stone coal. In uniting their currents they lose their names, and are thenceforward known only by the appellation of Ohio, which signifies *beautiful river*, and to which it is justly entitled.

More than sixty streams roll their riches to this river; those whose currents run from the east and south spring from heights which divide the waters tributary to the Atlantic from such as descend to the Ohio and the Mississipi; and those which rise in the west and north flow from hills the double slope of which feeds the lakes of Canada and likewise the Mississipi and the Ohio.

The country through which the latter river flows presents in its general features a wide valley bordered by hills of equal height; but it differs in the details as you proceed down the stream.

Nothing can be more fertile than the lands watered by the Ohio: they produce, on the hills, forests of red pine, woods of laurel, myrtle, sugar-maple, and oaks of four kinds: the valleys furnish the walnut, the lote-tree, the ash, and the tupelo; the marshes bear the birch, the aspen, the poplar, and the bald cypress. The Indians make stuffs of the bark of the poplar; they eat the inner bark of the birch; they use the sap of the black alder to cure the fever and to drive away serpents; the oak supplies them with arrows, the ash with canoes.

The herbs and plants are exceedingly diversified: but those which cover the whole country are, buffalo-grass, seven or eight feet high, trefoil, wild oats or wild rice, and indigo.

Beneath a soil every where fertile, at the depth of five or six feet, you generally meet with a bed of white stone, the base of an excellent mould; but on approaching the Mississipi, you first find on the surface of the soil a stiff black earth, then a stratum of chalk of different colours, and below that whole woods of bald cypress, buried in the mud.

It is asserted, that near the banks of the Chanon, two hundred feet below the level of the water, characters have been seen traced on the sides of a precipice: it has been thence concluded that the water formerly ran at this level, and that unknown nations inscribed these mysterious letters as they passed along the river.

A sudden transition of temperature and climate is remarked on the Ohio: in the environs of the Canaway the bald cypress ceases to grow, the sassafras disappears, and forests of oak and elm become more frequent. Every thing assumes a different hue; the greens are darker and their tints more sombre.

On this river there may be said to be no more than two seasons: the leaves drop all at once in November; snow falls very soon afterwards; the north-west wind sets in, and winter commences. A dry cold, with a serene sky, continues till the month of March; the wind then changes to the north-east, and in less than a fortnight the trees, thickly powdered with hoar-frost, are seen covered with blossoms. Summer is blended with spring.

Game is abundant. Striped ducks, blue linnets, cardinal birds, and purple goldfinches, glisten amid the verdure of the trees; the whet-saw imitates the noise of a saw; the cat-bird mews; and the parrots,

picking up a few words about the houses, repeat them in the woods. A great number of these birds subsist on insects: the green tobacco caterpillar, the worm of a species of white mulberry-tree, the fire-flies, and the water-spider, constitute their principal food; but the parrots assemble in large flocks, and plunder the fields after they are sown. A premium is given for every head of these birds, and a like premium is paid for the heads of squirrels.

The Ohio furnishes nearly the same kinds of fish as the Mississipi. It is very common to catch in it trout weighing from thirty to thirty-five pounds, and a species of sturgeon, the head of which is shaped like a paddle.

In descending the Ohio, you pass a small river called Big Bone Lick. In America the name of Lick is given to banks of a white and rather clayey earth, which the buffaloes are fond of licking, and in which they scoop hollows with their tongues. The excrements of those animals are so impregnated with the earth of the Lick, as to resemble lumps of lime. The buffaloes frequent the Licks for the sake of the salts which they contain; these salts cure the ruminating animals of the gripes occasioned by the crudity of the herbage. The soil of the valley of

the Ohio is nevertheless not salt to the taste, but on the contrary extremely insipid.

The lick of the Lick River is one of the largest that we are acquainted with: the vast roads which the buffaloes have trodden through the grass to come at it would be alarming, were it not well known that these wild bulls are the most peaceable of creatures. Part of the skeleton of a mammoth has been discovered in this Lick: the thigh-bone weighed seventy pounds; the ribs measured in their curve seven feet, and the scull three feet; the grinders were five inches broad and eight long, and the tusks fourteen inches from root to point.

Similar remains have been met with in Chili and in Russia. The Tartars pretend that the mammoth still exists in their country, about the mouths of the rivers: it is also asserted that hunters have pursued it to the west of the Mississipi. If the race of these animals is extinct, as there is every reason to believe, when did this destruction happen in countries so distant and in such different climates? We know nothing about it, and yet we are daily calling God to account for his works!

Big Bone Lick is about thirty miles from the river Kentucky, and nearly eight hundred from the Rapids of the Ohio. The banks of the river Ken-

tucky are perpendicular as walls. In this quarter are the following remarkable objects: a road made by the buffaloes which descends from the top of a hill, springs of bitumen which burns like oil, caverns adorned with natural columns, and a subterraneous lake which extends to an unknown distance.

At the confluence of the Kentucky and the Ohio, the scenery displays extraordinary grandeur: there, herds of roebucks gaze at you from the tops of the rocks as you pass along the river; here, clumps of aged pines shoot out horizontally over the water; smiling plains spread farther than the eye can reach, while curtains of forests veil the bases of mountains, the summits of which are seen in the distance.

This magnificent country is nevertheless called Kentucky, after the name of its river, which signifies *river of blood.* To its very beauty it is indebted for this inauspicious name. For more than two centuries the nations in the interest of the Cherokees and those which sided with the Iroquois contested the possession of its hunting-grounds. On this field of battle no Indian tribe durst settle: the Shawanoes, the Miamis, the Piankiciawoes, the Wayaoes, the Kaskasias, the Delawares, and the Illinois, came in turn to fight upon it. It was not till about the year 1752 that the Europeans began

to know any thing positive concerning the valleys situated to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, at that time called the Endless Mountains, or Kittatinny, the Blue Mountains. Charlevoix had nevertheless treated in 1720 of the course of the Ohio; and Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, had been marked out by the French at the junction of the two rivers which form the Ohio. In 1752 Lewis Evans published a map of the country situated on the Ohio and the Kentucky; James Macbride made an excursion into the desert in 1754; Jones Finley penetrated into it in 1757; Colonel Boone completely explored it in 1769, and settled in it with his family in 1775. It is asserted that Dr. Wood and Simon Kenton were the first Europeans who descended the Ohio in 1773 from Fort Pitt to the Mississipi. The national vanity of the Americans leads them to attribute to themselves the merit of most of the discoveries in the western parts of the United States: but it must not be forgotten, that the French of Canada and Louisiana, pushing on from the north and from the south, had traversed these regions long before the Americans, who came from the east and who were impeded in their route by the confederation of the Creeks and the Spaniards.

This country is beginning (1791) to be peopled

by colonies from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Carolina, and by some of my unfortunate countrymen fleeing from the first storms of the revolution.

Will the European generations be more virtuous and more free on the banks of these rivers than the American generations which they will have exterminated? Will not slaves till the ground under the lash of their master, in these wilds where man roved in absolute independence? Will not prisons and gibbets replace the open cabin and the lofty oak which bears nothing but the nests of birds? Will not the very richness of the soil give rise to fresh wars? Will Kentucky cease to be the *land of blood*, and will the edifices of man embellish the banks of the Ohio more than the monuments of Nature?

From the Kentucky to the Rapids of the Ohio is computed to be about eighty miles. These Rapids are formed by a rock which extends beneath the water in the bed of the river; the descent of these Rapids is neither dangerous nor difficult, the average fall being no more than four or five feet in the space of a mile. The river is divided into two branches by groups of islands in the midst of the Rapids. In going with the stream you may pass

without lightening the boats; but it is impossible to ascend without unloading at least in part.

The river at the Rapids is a mile broad. Gliding along this magnificent channel, the eye is arrested at some distance below the fall by an island covered with a wood of elms garlanded with lianes and wild vines.

To the north are seen the hills of Silver Creek: the foot of the first of these hills, which rises perpendicularly, is washed by the Ohio; its side, cut into large red facets, is decorated with plants. Other parallel hills, crowned with forests, rise behind the first: the farther they recede the more elevated they become, till at length their summits, tinged with light, appear of the colour of the sky and vanish.

To the south are savannahs studded with groves and covered with buffaloes, some reclined, others roving about, here grazing, there collected in a group, with heads inclined opposing one another. In the centre of this scene the Rapids, according as they are illumined by the sun's rays, blown back by the wind, or shaded by clouds, curl up into golden waves, whiten with foam, or roll on in a dark-looking current.

At the foot of the Rapid, there is an islet where substances become petrified. This islet in times of inundation is covered with water, and it is asserted that the petrifying quality, confined to this latter spot, does not extend to the neighbouring shore.

From the Rapids to the mouth of the Wabash is reckoned to be three hundred and sixteen miles. This river communicates by means of a portage of nine miles with the Miami of the lake which discharges itself into the Erie. The banks of the Wabash are high; a silver mine has been discovered on them.

Ninety-four miles below the mouth of the Wabash commences a swamp. From this swamp to the Yellow Banks, still descending the Ohio, is fifty-six miles: you leave on the left the mouths of two rivers, which are but eighteen miles distant from one another.

The first of these rivers is called the Cherokee or Tenessee; it springs from the mountains which separate the Carolinas and the Georgias from what is called the west country. It runs at first from east to west at the foot of the mountains; in this part of its course it is rapid and tumultuous: it then turns suddenly to the north; increased by several tributary streams, it expands and slackens its

speed, as if to rest itself after a hasty flight of four hundred leagues. At its mouth it is six hundred fathoms broad, and at a place called the Great Bend it forms a sheet of water a league across.

The second river, the Shawano or the Cumberland, is the companion of the Cherokee or Tenessee. It passes its infancy in the same mountains as the latter, and descends with it into the plains. About the middle of it course, being obliged to quit the Tenessee, it hastens to traverse a desert country, and the twins, approaching toward the conclusion of their career, expire at no great distance from each other in the Ohio, which reunites them.

The country watered by these rivers is in general intersected by hills and valleys irrigated by a multitude of streams; yet there are some plains of reeds on the Cumberland, and several extensive marshes. The buffalo and the roebuck abound in this tract, which is still inhabited by savage nations, particularly the Cherokees. The burial-places of the Indians are frequent — melancholy evidences of the ancient populousness of these wilds.

From the Great Swamp on the Ohio to the Yellow Banks, the distance, as I have said, is computed at above fifty-six miles. The Yellow Banks are thus named from their colour; situated on the

north bank of the Ohio, you pass close to them, because the water is deep on that side. The Ohio has almost every where a double bank, one for the season of inundations, the other for times of drought.

From the Yellow Banks to the place where the Ohio discharges its waters into the Mississipi, in latitude 36° 51′, is reckoned to be about thirty-five miles.

To form a correct idea of the confluence of the two rivers, you must imagine yourself setting out from a small island off the east bank of the Mississipi, with the intention of entering the Ohio. On the left you perceive the Mississipi, which at this place runs east and west, and which presents a vast agitated and tumultuous body of water; on the right the Ohio, brighter than crystal, calmer than the air, comes slowly from north to south, forming a graceful curve. In ordinary seasons they are each nearly two miles wide at the point of their meeting. The volume of their waters is nearly alike; the two rivers opposing an equal resistance, slacken their course, and appear to sleep together for some leagues in their common bed.

The point where their streams unite is elevated about twenty feet above them: composed of mud and sand, this swampy cape is covered with wild

hemp, and a sort of vine which creeps along the ground or climbs the long stems of the buffalo-grass; holm-oaks also grow upon this tongue of land, which is not visible in great inundations. At such times the united waters of the two swollen rivers resemble a prodigious lake.

The confluence of the Missouri and the Mississipi presents a sight perhaps still more extraordinary. The Missouri is an impetuous stream, with a white and muddy current, which precipitates itself with violence into the clear and tranquil Mississipi. In spring it detaches from its banks vast masses of earth: these floating islands are hurried down the Missouri, bearing along with them their trees, covered with leaves or flowers; some standing, others half fallen, they exhibit a wonderful spectacle.

From the mouth of the Ohio to the iron-mines on the east bank of the Mississipi is not more than fifteen miles; from the iron-mines to the mouth of the Chickasaw river is called sixty-seven miles. It is one hundred and four miles further to the hills of Margette, watered by the little river of the same name: this place abounds with game.

Why do we find such charms in savage life? how is it that the man most accustomed to exercise his thinking faculty gladly forgets himself in the

tumult of the chace? To rove through the woods, to pursue the wild animals, to build one's own hut, to kindle one's own fire, to cook one's repast with one's own hand near a streamlet, is certainly a very great pleasure. A thousand Europeans have known this pleasure, and never afterwards wished for any other; while the Indian, pent up in our cities, dies of regret. This proves that man is rather an active than a contemplative being; that in his natural condition he wants little; and that simplicity of soul is an inexhaustible source of happiness.

The distance from the river Margette to that of St. Francis is seventy miles. The latter received its name from the French, and it is still a place of rendezvous with their hunting parties.

It is computed to be one hundred and eight miles from the river St. Francis to the Akansas, or Arkansas. The Akansas are still strongly attached to us. Of all the Europeans my countrymen are most beloved by the Indians. This is owing to the gaiety of the French, to their brilliant valour, to their fondness for the chace, and indeed for the savage life; as if the highest degree of civilization approximated to the state of nature.

The river Akansas is navigable for canoes up-

wards of four hundred and fifty miles: it runs through a fine country; its source seems to be concealed in the mountains of New Mexico.

From the river of the Akansas to that of the Yazous is one hundred and fifty-eight miles. This latter river is one hundred fathoms broad at its mouth. In the rainy season large boats may ascend the Yazous upwards of eighty miles: but in this space there is a portage, on account of a small cataract. The Yazous, the Chactaws, and the Chickasaws, formerly dwelt upon the different branches of this river. The Yazous formed but one tribe with the Natchez.

The distance of the Yazous from Natchez by the river is thus divided: from the quarters of the Yazous or Black Bayouk, thirty-nine miles; from Black Bayouk to Stone River, thirty miles; from Stone River to Natchez, ten miles.

From the quarters of the Yazous to Black Bayouk the Mississipi is full of islands, and makes long bends: its breadth is about two miles and its depth from eight to ten fathoms. It would be easy to diminish the distances by cutting through some of these windings. The distance from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, which is but four hundred and sixty miles in a straight line, is eight hundred

and fifty-six by the river. This trip might be shortened by at least two hundred and fifty miles.

From Black Bayouk to Stone River are seen stone quarries. These are the first that are met with between the mouth of the Mississipi and the little river which has been named after these quarries.

The Mississipi is subject to two periodical inundations, one in spring, the other in autumn. The first, which is the most considerable, begins in May and is over in June. The current of the river then runs five miles an hour; and the rate at which the counter-currents ascend is nearly the same—an admirable provision of Nature! since, but for these counter-currents, vessels could scarcely go up the river.* At this period the water rises to a great height, overflows the banks, but does not return to the river from which it came, like the water of the Nile: it remains upon the ground, or soaks into the soil, on which it deposits its fertilizing sediment.

The second flood is occasioned by the rains in October, it is not so considerable as that in spring. During these inundations the Mississipi carries along with it enormous floats of wood, and roars

* Steam-vessels have obviated the difficulty of the upper navigation.

furiously. The ordinary velocity of the current of the river is about two miles an hour.

The somewhat elevated lands which border the Mississipi from New Orleans to the Ohio are almost all on the left bank; but these lands recede from or approach the channel more or less, sometimes leaving savannahs several miles in breadth between them and the river. The hills do not always run parallel to the shore; sometimes they diverge into radii at great distances, and present prospects of valleys planted with a thousand sorts of trees; at others they converge to the river, and form a multitude of capes which are reflected in the water. The right bank of the Mississipi is flat, swampy, and uniform, with few exceptions: amidst the tall green or yellow canes which adorn it buffaloes are seen bounding, or the waters of a multitude of ponds appear covered with aquatic birds.

The soil about the river furnishes rhubarb, cotton, indigo, saffron, the wax-tree, sassafras, wild flax: a worm of the country spins a very strong silk. In some of the rivulets the drag brings up large pearl-oysters, but the pearls are not of a fine water. We know of one mine of quicksilver, another of lapis-lazuli, and some iron-mines.

The sequel of the manuscript contains descriptions of the country of the Natchez, and of the course of the Mississipi to New Orleans. These descriptions have been wholly transferred to *The Natchez*.

Immediately after the description of Louisiana there follow in the manuscript some extracts from Bartram's Travels, which I had translated with very great care. With these extracts are intermixed my corrections, my observations, my additions, my reflections, my own descriptions, nearly in the same manner as M. Ramond's notes to his translation of Coxe's *Travels in Swisserland*. But in my work the whole is more intimately blended, so that it is almost impossible for me to separate what is mine from what is Bartram's, or indeed frequently even to recognize it. I shall therefore leave this part just as it is.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES

IN THE

INTERIOR OF THE FLORIDAS.

We were propelled by a fresh breeze. The river was soon lost in a lake, which opened before us and formed a basin about nine leagues in circumference. Three islands rose from the centre of this lake; we sailed towards the largest, where we arrived at eight in the morning.

We landed on the skirt of a plain of a circular form, and drew our boat ashore under a clump of chesnut trees, which grew nearly in the water. We built our hut on a little eminence. The eastern breeze blew, and cooled the lake and the forests. We breakfasted on our cakes of maize-flour, and then dispersed over the island, some to shoot, and others to fish and to collect plants.

We remarked a species of hibiscus. This enormous herb, which grows in low, moist situations, shoots up to the height of ten or twelve feet, and terminates in an extremely sharp cone; the smooth

leaves, slightly furrowed, are enlivened by beautiful crimson flowers, which may be seen at a great distance.

The agave vivipara grew still higher in the salt-creeks, and presented a forest of plants of thirty feet perpendicular. The ripe seed of this plant sometimes germinates on the parent stock, so that the young plant falls to the ground completely formed. As the agave vivipara frequently grows on the brink of running waters, its bare seeds, carried away by the current, would be liable to perish: Nature has developed them against these particular cases on the old plant, that they may be able to fix themselves by their small roots, the moment they drop from the maternal bosom.

The cyperus of America was common in the island. The tube of this cyperus resembles that of a knotty reed, and its leaf is like that of the leek: the Savages call it *apoya matsi*. The Indian women of loose life crush this plant between two stones, and rub their breasts and arms with it.

We traversed a prairie enamelled with the yellow-flowering jacobæa, the alcæa with bunches of rose-coloured blossoms, and the purple-crowned obelia. Light breezes, playing on the tops of these plants,

broke them into waves of gold, rose-colour, or purple, or formed long trenches in the verdure.

The seneka, which abounded in swampy soils, resembled shoots of red osier in form and colour; some branches trailed along the ground, others shot up into the air: the seneka has a slightly bitter and aromatic taste. Beside it grew the convolvulus of the Carolinas, the leaf of which is like the head of an arrow. These two plants are found wherever there are rattlesnakes: the first is a remedy for their bite, the second is so powerful that the Savages, after they have rubbed themselves with it, handle those formidable reptiles with impunity. The Indians relate, that the Great Spirit, taking compassion on the *bare-legged* warriors of the red skin, himself sowed these salutary plants, in spite of the remonstrances of the souls of the serpents.

We found the serpentaria on the roots of the great trees; the tree for tooth-ache, the trunk and thorny branches of which are covered with protuberances as large as pigeons' eggs; the arctosa or canneberge, the red cherry of which grows among the mosses, and cures the liver complaint. The black alder, which possesses the property of driving away vipers, grew vigorously in the stagnant waters covered with rust.

An unlooked-for spectacle met our view: we discovered an Indian ruin: it was situated on a hillock, on the margin of the lake; we remarked on the left a cone of earth from forty to forty-five feet high; from this cone ran an ancient road which was carried through a magnificent grove of magnolias and evergreen oaks, and terminated in a savannah. Fragments of vases and various utensils were scattered here and there, in cohesion with fossils, shell-fish, petrifactions of plants, and bones of animals.

The contrast of these ruins and the youth of Nature, these monuments of men in a wilderness into which we should have supposed that none had penetrated before us, deeply affected both heart and mind. What people had inhabited this island? Their name, their race, the time of their existence, are alike unknown; they lived probably when the world which concealed them in its bosom was still unknown to the other three parts of the globe. The silence of this tribe is perhaps contemporaneous with the noise made by great European nations, which have, in their turn, sunk into silence, and left behind them nothing but ruins.

We examined these ruins: from the broken parts of the sandy tumulus sprang a species of poppy,

with rose-coloured flower, hanging from an inclined stalk of a pale green. From the root of this poppy the Indians extract a narcotic liquor; the stem and the flower have an agreeable odour, which is communicated to the hand when you touch it. This plant was made to adorn the tomb of a Savage: its roots procure sleep, and the perfume of the flower, which survives the flower itself, is a pleasing image of the recollections which an innocent life leaves behind in the desert.

Pursuing our route and examining the mosses, the pendent grasses, the dishevelled shrubs, and all the train of plants of melancholy port, which love to decorate ruins, we observed a species of œnotherus pyramidalis, from seven to eight feet high, with oblong, dentated leaves, of a very dark green: its flower is yellow. In the evening this flower begins to open, and it completely expands during the night: morning finds it in all its lustre; about the middle of the forenoon it fades; at noon it falls: it lives only a few hours, but those hours it passes under a serene sky. What signifies then the brevity of its life?

A few paces further was a patch of the mimosa or sensitive plant: in the songs of the Savages the

soul of a young girl is frequently compared with this plant.*

On our return to our camp we crossed a brook thickly bordered with dionæas; a multitude of ephemera hummed about them. There were also at this parterre three sorts of butterflies: one white as alabaster; another black as the jay, with wings crossed by yellow stripes; the third having a forked tail, and four gold wings barred with blue and studded with purple dots. Attracted by the dionæas, these insects alighted upon them; but no sooner had they touched the leaves than they closed and imprisoned their prey.

After returning to our *ajoupa* we went a-fishing to make amends for our ill-luck in shooting. Embarking in the canoe, with nets and lines, we coasted the eastern part of the island, bordered with sea-weed, and along wooded capes. The trout was so greedy that we caught it with unbaited hooks: the fish, called the gold-fish, was in abundance. Nothing can be more beautiful than this little king of the waters: it is about five inches long; its head is

* All these different passages are mine; but historical truth requires the confession, that were I now to see the Indian ruins of the Alabama, I should subtract from their antiquity.

of the colour of ultramarine; the sides and belly sparkle like fire; a brown longitudinal stripe runs along its flanks; the iris of its large eyes shines like burnished gold. This fish is carnivorous.

At some distance from the shore, in the shade of a bald cypress, we observed small pyramids of mud rising from the bottom of the water and reaching to the surface. A legion of gold-fish made in silence their approaches to these citadels. All at once the water boiled up, and the gold-fish fled. Crabs, armed with shears, issuing from the insulted spot, overthrew their brilliant enemies; but the dispersed bands soon returned to the charge, made the besieged give way in their turn, and the brave but slow-motioned garrison retired backward to recruit itself in the fortress.

The crocodile, floating like the trunk of a tree, the trout, the pike, the perch, the cannelet, the bass, the bream, the drum-fish, the gold-fish, all mortal enemies to each other, were sporting pell-mell in the lake, and seemed to have made a truce, that they might enjoy together the beauty of the evening: the azure fluid was painted with their changing colours. The water was so limpid that it seemed as though you could have touched with

your finger the actors in this scene, who were frisking at the depth of twenty feet in their grotto of crystal.

To regain the creek where we had formed our establishment, we had but to let ourselves float at the pleasure of the wind and water. The sun was near setting: in the fore-ground of the island appeared evergreen oaks, the horizontal branches of which formed a parasol, and azaleas, which glistened like net-work of coral.

In the rear of this fore-ground rose papayas, the most beautiful of all trees; their straight, grayish, and carved trunk, from twenty to twenty-five feet in height, supports a tuft of long ribbed leaves, resembling in their outline the graceful *S* of an antique vase. The pear-shaped fruit is ranged round the stem; you would take them for glass crystals: the entire tree looks like a column of chased silver, surmounted by a Corinthian urn.

Lastly, in the back-ground, the magnolias and the liquidambars rose gradually into the air.

The sun sank behind the curtain formed by the trees of the plain. As he descended, the play of light and shade threw a magical effect over the landscape; here, a ray, stealing through the dome of a great tree, shone like a carbuncle enchased in

the dark foliage; there, the light, diverging between the trunk and the branches, cast lengthening columns and moveable trellises upon the greensward. In the sky there were clouds of every colour, some fixed, resembling huge promontories or old towers on the brink of a torrent, others floating in rose-coloured smoke, or in tufts of white silk. A moment sufficed to change the aërial scene: you then saw the mouths of flaming furnaces, rivers of lava, burning landscapes. The same tints were repeated without being confounded; flame parted from flame, pale yellow from pale yellow, violet from violet: all was brilliant, all enveloped, penetrated, saturated with light.

But Nature mocks the pencil of man: when you imagine that she has invested herself with her greatest beauty, she smiles and embellishes herself still more.

On our right were the Indian ruins, on our left our hunters' camp: the island expanded before us its landscapes engraved or modelled in the water. In the east, the moon, touching the horizon, seemed to rest motionless on the distant hills; in the west, the vault of heaven appeared to be melted into a sea of diamonds and sapphires, in which the sun, half-set, looked as though it were dissolving.

The brute animals were, like ourselves, attentive to this grand spectacle: the crocodile, turned towards the luminary of day, spouted from his open mouth the water of the lake in coloured jets; the pelican, perched on a withered bough, praised the author of nature in his way; while the stork soared to bless him above the clouds.

We too will praise thee, God of the universe, who lavishest around so many wonders! The voice of a man shall be raised with the voice of the wilderness: thou shalt distinguish the accents of the feeble son of woman, amid the harmony of the spheres which revolve at thy bidding, and the roaring of the abyss, the gates of which thou hast sealed.

On our return to the island, I made a hearty meal: fresh trout, with tops of canneberge for sauce, were a dish worthy of the table of a king: thus I was much greater than a king. Had Fate placed me upon a throne, and a revolution hurled me from it, instead of dragging on a miserable life in Europe, like a Charles or a James, I would have said to those who coveted it, "You long for my place: well, try your hands at the trade; you will find that it is not so agreeable. Cut one another's throats for my old cloak; I will go and enjoy in the

forests of America that liberty which you have restored to me."

We had a neighbour at our supper: a hole resembling the den of an otter was the habitation of a tortoise: the recluse came forth from her grotto, and gravely took a walk on the margin of the water. These tortoises differ considerably from the sea-tortoise; they have much longer necks. We did not molest the peaceful queen of the island.

After supper I went and sat down by myself on the shore. Nothing was to be heard but the continued sound of the flux and reflux of the lake along the beach: fire-flies shone in the shade, and were eclipsed when they passed through the moonlight. I fell into that kind of reverie which is known to all travellers: no distinct recollection of myself was left me; I felt myself living as a part of the great whole, and vegetating with the trees and the flowers. It is perhaps the most agreeable disposition for man; for even when he is happy, there is in his pleasure a sort of bitterness, a something which might be termed the sadness of felicity. The reverie of the traveller is a sort of fullness of heart and emptiness of head, which permits you to enjoy your existence in quiet. It is by thought that we

disturb the felicity which God bestows on us; the soul is tranquil, the mind restless.

The Savages of Florida relate, that in the centre of a lake there is an island where dwell the most beautiful women in the world. The Muscogulges set out several times to attempt the conquest of the magic island; but the elysian retreat, fleeing before their canoes, at length disappeared—a natural image of the time which we lose in the pursuit of our chimeras. In this country was likewise the Spring of Youth. Who would wish to be young again?

Next morning before sun-rise we quitted the island, crossed the lake, and re-entered the river which we had descended to it. This river was full of alligators. These animals are not dangerous but in the water, and especially at the moment of landing. On shore a child may easily outstrip them by walking at an ordinary pace. To prevent ambushes, it is common to set fire to the grass and reeds: it is then a curious sight to see large tracts of water surmounted, as it were, by hair of flame.

When the crocodile of these regions has acquired its full growth, it measures from twenty to twenty-four feet from head to tail. Its body is as large as that of a horse. This reptile would have exactly

the form of the common lizard, if its tail were not flattened on both sides like that of a fish. It is covered with scales which are ball-proof, excepting about the head and between the legs. The head is about three feet long; the nostrils are wide; the animal's upper jaw alone is moveable; it opens at a right angle upon the lower jaw: in the former are placed two large teeth like boar's tusks, which give the monster a terrible look.

The female kaïman lays on the ground eggs of a whitish colour, which she covers with grass and mud. These eggs, sometimes to the number of a hundred, form with the mud that buries them little hillocks four feet high and five in diameter at the base: the heat of the sun and the fermentation of the mud hatch the eggs. A female makes no distinction between her own eggs and those of another: she takes under her care all the broods of the sun. Is it not singular to find among the crocodiles the common children of Plato's republic?

The heat was oppressive: we navigated amidst swamps; our canoes leaked, the sun having melted the pitch with which they were caulked. Scorching gusts frequently burst upon us from the north: our hunters predicted a storm, because the savannah rat ran incessantly to and fro along the branches

of the evergreen oak; the mosquitoes tormented us cruelly. Luminous meteors were seen in the low grounds.

We passed a very uncomfortable night, without *ajoupa*, on a peninsula formed by swamps: the moon and all objects were enveloped in a red fog. This morning the breeze failed, and we re-embarked with the intention of endeavouring to reach an Indian village some miles distant; but it was impossible for us to ascend the river long, and we were obliged to land on the point of a cape covered with trees, which commanded an immense view. Clouds are beginning to spring up from the north-western horizon and slowly rising in the sky. We are making a shelter for ourselves with boughs in the best manner we can.

The sun becomes overcast; the first muttering of the thunder is heard; the crocodiles reply to it with a hollow roar, as one thunder-peal answers another. An immense column of clouds extends from north-east to south-east; the rest of the sky is of a dirty copper colour, semi-transparent, and tinged with the lightning. The wilderness illumined by a false day-light, the storm suspended

over our heads and ready to burst, present a scene replete with grandeur.

The tempest commences. Figure to yourself a deluge of fire without wind and without water. The smell of sulphur fills the atmosphere. Nature is lighted as by the flames of a conflagration.

Now the cataracts of the abyss open; the drops of rain are not separate; a sheet of water unites the clouds and the earth.

The Indians say that the noise of thunder is caused by immense birds fighting in the air, and by the efforts of an old man to vomit a viper of fire. In proof of this assertion they show you trees which the lightning has branded with the likeness of a serpent. These storms frequently set fire to the forests; they continue to burn till the conflagration is stopped by the current of some river: these burned forests are converted into lakes and marshes.

The curlews, whose voices we hear in the atmosphere amidst the rain and the thunder, announce the conclusion of the storm. The wind rends the clouds, which fly shattered across the heavens; the thunder and the lightning attached to their flanks

follow them; the air becomes cool and sonorous: no relic of the deluge is left but the drops of water which fall in pearls from the foliage of the trees. Our nets and travelling provisions float in the boats filled with water to their gunwales.

The country inhabited by the Creeks (the confederation of the Muscogulges, Siminoles, and Cherokees,) is enchanting. The ground is scooped at intervals into a multitude of basins, which are called *wells*, more or less spacious, more or less deep: they communicate by subterranean channels with the lakes, swamps, and rivers. Each of these wells is situated in the centre of a little hill planted with the finest trees, and the sides of which resemble those of a vase filled with pure water. In this water sport fish of brilliant colours.

In the rainy season the savannahs become a kind of lakes, out of which the little hills above mentioned rise like islands.

Cuscowilla, a Siminole village, is situated on a chain of gravelly hills, at the distance of four hundred fathoms from a lake: a wood of pines, standing apart from one another, and touching only at their tops, separate the town and the lake: between their trunks, as between columns, you per-

ceive huts, the lake, and its shores, adjoining on one hand to forests, on the other to pastures. It is somewhat in this way that, as we are told, the ruins of Athens are seen between the isolated columns of the temple of Jupiter Olympius.*

It would be difficult to conceive any thing more beautiful than the environs of Apalachucla, the town of peace. From the river Chata-Uche the ground rises as it recedes to the western horizon, not by a uniform acclivity, but a sort of terraces placed one above another.

As you climb from terrace to terrace, the trees change according to the elevation of the ground: on the banks of the river they are oak-willows, laurels, and magnolias; higher up, sassafras and plane-trees; and the last terrace is planted with a forest of oaks, among which is remarked the species that has long white moss trailing from it. Bare and broken rocks rise above this forest.

Winding streams, descending from these rocks, run among flowers and verdure, or fall in sheets of crystal. When the spectator descries from the other side of the river Chata-Uche these vast terraces crowned by the architecture of the mountains, he would imagine that he beheld the temple of Nature

* I have since seen them.

and the magnificent flight of steps leading to this monument.

At the foot of this amphitheatre is a plain in which graze herds of European horned cattle, squadrons of horses of the Spanish breed, troops of stags and deer, and battalions of cranes and turkeys, which marble the green ground of the savannah with black and white. This association of wild and domestic animals, and the Siminole huts, where you perceive the progress of civilization amid Indian ignorance, contribute to give to this scene a character which is not to be found elsewhere.

Here finishes the *Itinerary* properly so called, or the account of the places visited; but there are still in various parts of the manuscript a multitude of particulars respecting the manners and customs of the Indians. These particulars I have collected into chapters, after carefully revising them, and bringing down my narrative to the present time. The thirty-six years which have elapsed since my Travels, have made great additions to our stores of knowledge, and produced many changes both in the Old and the New World; they ought also to have modified the ideas and corrected the opinions of the writer.

MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES.

THERE are two modes, equally faithful and unfaithful, of delineating the Savages of North America. One is to treat of their laws and manners only, without entering into the detail of their absurd customs, and of their habits, frequently so disgusting to civilized men. In this case you will see in them nothing but Greeks and Romans; for the laws of the Indians are grave, and their manners often charming.

The other mode consists in representing only the habits and customs of the Savages, without noticing their laws and manners: you then perceive nothing but smoky and infectious cabins, the haunts of a sort of apes who possess the gift of speech. Sidonius Apollinaris complained of being obliged "to listen to the harsh language of the Germans, and to associate with the Burgundian, who rubbed his hair with butter."

I know not whether the cot of the elder Cato, in the country of the Sabines, was much cleaner than

the hut of an Iroquois. The arch Horace might leave us in doubt on this point.

If, again, we give the same features to all the Savages of North America, we shall injure the likeness. The Savages of Louisiana and Florida differed in many points from the Savages of Canada. Without pretending to write a particular history of each tribe, I have given all that I know of the Indians under these heads:

Marriages, Children, Funerals; Harvests, Festivals, Dances, and Sports; The Year, the Division and Regulation of Time, the Natural Calendar; Medicine; Indian Languages; The Chace; War; Religion; Government.

A general conclusion exhibits America as it now appears.

MARRIAGES, CHILDREN, FUNERALS.

There are two kinds of marriages among the Savages: the one is contracted by the mere consent of the parties, for a longer or shorter time, as agreed upon by themselves. When the term of the engagement expires, the couple separate: nearly of the same nature was the legal concubinage of Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The second kind of marriage takes place likewise by virtue of the consent of the parties, but the relatives interfere. Though this marriage is not limited, like the other, to a certain number of years, still it may be dissolved. It has been remarked that among the Indians this second kind of marriage, the legimate marriage, was preferred by young females and old men, and the first by old women and young men.

When a Savage has resolved upon a legal marriage, he goes with his father to demand the girl of her parents. The father puts on garments which have never before been worn; he adorns his head with new feathers, washes the old painting from his face, lays on new colours, and changes the ring hung to his nose or ears; he takes in his right hand

a calumet, the bowl of which is white and the tube blue, and decorated with the tail-feathers of birds. In his left hand he carries his bow unstrung, in the form of a staff. His son follows, laden with bear, beaver, and elk-skins: he carries also two bead necklaces of four rows each, and a live turtle-dove in a cage.

The suitors first repair to the oldest kinsman of the girl; they enter his hut, sit down on a mat before him, and the father of the young warrior addresses him. "There," says he, "are skins! The two necklaces, the blue calumet, and the turtle-dove, ask thy daughter in marriage."

If the presents are accepted, the match is concluded; for the consent of the grandfather, or of the oldest Sachem of the family, is of more importance than that of the father. Age is the source of authority among the Savages: the older a man is, the greater is his influence. According to the notions of these people, the divine power springs from the eternity of the Great Spirit.

Sometimes the old kinsman, though he accepts the presents, attaches some restriction to his consent. The applicants are apprized of this restriction, if, in taking three whiffs of the calumet, the smoker puffs out the smoke of the first, instead of swallowing it, as in the case of an unconditional assent.

From the hut of the oldest kinsman, the suitors proceed to the residence of the mother and the girl. When the latter has had unlucky dreams, her fear is great. Her dreams, in order to be propitious, must not have been about spirits, or her ancestors, or her country, but have represented to her cradles and birds and white does. There is nevertheless an infallible method of counteracting sinister dreams, which is to put a red necklace about the neck of a grotesque figure made of oak-wood: among civilized nations, too, hope has its red necklaces and grotesque figures.

After this first application, the whole affair seems to be forgotten; a considerable time elapses before the conclusion of the marriage: the pre-eminent virtue of the Savage is patience. In the most imminent dangers every thing must go on as usual: when the foe is at the gates, a warrior who should omit to smoke his pipe quietly, seated cross-legged in the sun, would be considered as an *old woman.*

Let the passion of the young man, then, be ever so vehement, he is obliged to affect an air of indifference, and to await the commands of the family.

According to the usual custom, the young couple ought at first to reside in the hut of their old kinsman; but particular circumstances frequently

prevent the observance of this practice. In this case the bridegroom builds himself a hut; he almost always chooses a site for it in some sequestered valley, near a spring or stream, and under a wood which may shelter and conceal it.

The Savages are all of them, like Homer's heroes, physicians, cooks, and carpenters. In building the marriage hut, they set up in the ground four posts, a foot in circumference and twelve feet high; these are destined to mark the four angles of a parallelogram of twenty feet by eighteen. Mortises cut in these posts receive the transoms, which, when the intervals are filled with earth, form the four walls of the hut.

In the two longitudinal walls are left two apertures; one serves for the entrance of the whole building; the other leads into a second apartment similar to the first, but smaller.

The suitor is left to lay the foundations of his dwelling by himself; but in the sequel of the work he is assisted by his companions. They arrive singing and dancing; they bring implements of masonry made of wood, and the blade-bone of some large quadruped serves for a trowel. They slap the hand of their companion, leap on his shoulders, rally him on his marriage, and finish the hut.

Mounted on the posts and the commenced walls, they form the roof of birch bark or maize straw: mixing the hair of the fallow-deer and the chopped straw of wild oats with red clay, they plaster the walls inside and out with this composition. In the centre or at one end of the large room the workmen plant five long poles, with which they interweave dry grass, and plaster it with mortar: this sort of cone serves for the fire-place, from which the smoke escapes by an aperture left in the roof. The whole of this job is performed amid jests and satirical songs: most of these songs are coarse, but some of them are not destitute of grace. For example:

"The moon hides her brow beneath a cloud; she is shame-faced, she blushes, because she has just risen from the bed of the sun. Thus will —— hide her face and blush the day after the nuptials, and we will say to her: Let us look at thine eyes!"

The strokes of the hammer, the rattling of trowels, the cracking of broken branches, the laughter, the shouts, the songs of the workmen, are heard to a distance, and families come from their villages to partake of these diversions.

The hut being finished without, it is plastered inside with mortar, when the country furnishes lime, or with clay in default of mortar. The turf left in

the interior of the building is pared off: the workmen, dancing on the damp soil, soon stamp the floor smooth and level. This area is then covered with rush mats, with which the walls of the house are also lined. Thus in a few hours they finish a hut, the bark roof of which frequently covers more happiness than the domes of palaces.

Next day all the furniture and provisions belonging to the owner are removed to the new habitation: mats, stools, earthen and wooden vessels, pots, pails, bears' and elks' hams, dry cakes, sheaves of maize, plants for food or medicine: these different articles are hung up to the walls or laid upon shelves; in a hole lined with split reeds are thrown the maize and wild oats. The implements of fishing, hunting, war, and agriculture, springes, nets made of the inner bark of the false palm-tree, fish-hooks of beavers' teeth, bows, arrows, tomahawks, hatchets, knives, fire-arms, powder-horns, chichikoués, tambourines, fifes, calumets, thread of roebuck's nerves, stuff made of the bark of the birch or mulberry-tree, feathers, pearls, necklaces, black, blue, and red, for ornament, a multitude of skins, some tanned, others with the hair on—such are the treasures with which the cabin is stored.

A week before the celebration of the nuptials,

the bride goes to the hut of purification, a detached building, to which the women retire for three or four days every month, and whither they likewise remove to lie-in. During this week of retirement, the bridegroom hunts: he leaves the game on the spot where he killed it; the women pick it up and carry it to the hut of the parents, for the wedding feast. If the hunter has good luck, this is considered as a favourable omen.

The important day at length arrives. The sorcerers and the principal Sachems are invited to the ceremony. A party of young warriors repair to the habitation of the bridegroom to fetch him; while another party, of young females, proceed in like manner to the residence of the bride. The couple are adorned with the most beautiful feathers, necklaces, and furs, and the most gorgeous in point of colour.

These two parties arrive at the same time, by opposite roads, at the hut of the oldest kinsman, in which a second door has been made facing the ordinary door. Surrounded by his comrades the bridegroom appears at one of the doors; the bride, with her companions, at the other. All the Sachems of the party are seated in the cabin, with pipes in their mouths. The young couple advance, and place

themselves on rolls of skins at one of the extremities of the hut.

The two parties left at the door then commence the nuptial dance outside the cabin. The young females, provided with wooden spades, imitate the various operations of tillage: while the young warriors, armed with bows, keep guard around them. All at once a hostile party, sallying from the forest, strive to carry off the girls, who throw down their spades and run away: their brothers fly to their succour. A sham fight succeeds, and the assailants are repulsed.

This pantomime is followed by other scenes represented with natural vivacity: they exhibit pictures of domestic life, household duties, in-door employments and pleasures—touching occupations of the mother of a family. This spectacle terminates with a round, in which the girls turn in a direction contrary to the course of the sun, and the young warriors according to the apparent motion of that luminary.

The feast follows: it consists of soups, game, cakes of maize-flour, canneberge, a sort of vegetable, may-apples, a kind of fruit which grows on a species of grass, fish, broiled meat, and roasted birds. The juice of the maple or sumach is drunk out of

large calebashes, and small cups of beech-wood are used for a preparation of cassina, a hot liquid which is taken like coffee. The excellence of the entertainment consists in the profusion of the viands.

When the feast is over, the company retire. Twelve persons only, six Sachems of the husband's family, and six matrons of the wife's, remain in the hut. These twelve persons, seated on the ground, form two concentric circles: they hold, each at one end, a reed six feet long in a horizontal direction. The husband has in his right hand a roebuck's foot; and the wife lifts up a bunch of maize in her left. The reed is painted with various hieroglyphics, which indicate the age of the new-married couple, and the moon in which the marriage takes place. The presents of the husband and his family are laid at the wife's feet; these consist of a complete dress, the petticoat of mulberry bark, the corset of the same, the mantle of birds' feathers or marten skins, the mocassins embroidered with hedgehog's hair, bracelets of shells, and rings or pearls for the nose and ears.

To these habiliments are added a cradle made of reeds, a piece of agaric and gun-flints for striking a light, a pot for boiling meat, a leathern strap for carrying burdens, and a billet for the fire. The

cradle sets the heart of the young wife a-throbbing; the pot and the strap do not alarm her: she looks submissively at these marks of domestic servitude.

The husband is not left without a lesson. A tomahawk, a bow, and a paddle, bespeak his duties —to fight, to hunt, and to navigate the canoe. Among some tribes, a green lizard, of the species which is so rapid in its motions that the eye can scarcely follow them, and a basket full of dead leaves, intimate to the new-made husband that time flies and man falls. These people teach in emblems the moral of life, and indicate by them the part of the labours which Nature has allotted to each of her children.

The young couple, enclosed in the double circle of the twelve relatives, having declared that they desire to be united, the oldest kinsman takes the reed six feet long, and divides it into twelve pieces, which he distributes among the twelve witnesses. Each witness is obliged to deliver up his portion of the reed to be reduced to ashes, if the couple should ever demand a divorce.

The young females, who conducted the bride to the cabin of the oldest kinsman, accompany her with songs to the nuptial hut, whither the young warriors escort the bridegroom. The guests return

to their villages: they throw pieces of their garments into the rivers, and burn part of their provisions, by way of sacrifice to the Manitous.

In Europe people marry to escape the military laws: among the Savages of North America no person is allowed to marry till he has fought for his country. A man was not deemed worthy to be a father before he had proved himself capable of defending his children. In consequence of this manly custom, it was not till the day of his marriage that a warrior began to enjoy public consideration.

Plurality of wives is permitted; a contrary abuse sometimes consigns a woman to several husbands: the ruder tribes offer their wives and daughters to strangers. It is not depravity, but a deep sense of their wretchedness, which urges the Indians to this sort of infamy: they expect to render their family more fortunate by changing the paternal blood.

The Savages of the north-west were anxious to have offspring by the first Negro whom they saw: they took him for an evil spirit, and hoped that by naturalizing him among them, they should conciliate the black genii, and secure protectors among them.

Adultery in the wife was formerly punished among the Hurons by cutting off the nose: it was

intended that her crime should be engraven for life upon her face.

In case of divorce the children are adjudged to the mother: among the animals, say the Savages, it is the female that brings up the young.

A woman who becomes pregnant in the first year of her marriage is taxed with incontinence; she sometimes takes the juice of a species of rue to destroy the too early fruit of her womb: and yet—such are the inconsistencies natural to men—a woman is not esteemed till the moment when she becomes a mother. As a mother she is summoned to the public deliberations; the more children she has, especially if they are sons, the more she is respected.

A husband who has lost his wife, marries her sister when she has one; in like manner a woman who loses her husband marries his brother, if he has a brother: this was very nearly the Athenian law. A widow left with a large family of children is in great request.

As soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy manifest themselves, all intercourse between husband and wife is suspended. Towards the end of the ninth month, the wife retires to the hut of purification, where she is attended by the matrons. No man, the husband himself not excepted, dare enter

this hut. The woman remains there thirty or forty days after delivery, according as she has given birth to a girl or a boy.

When the father has received intelligence of the birth of his child, he takes a calumet of peace, about the tube of which he twists tendrils of the wild vine, and hastens to acquaint the different members of the family with the happy news. He first repairs to the maternal relations, because the child belongs exclusively to the mother. Going up to the most aged Sachem, after puffing whiffs of smoke towards the four cardinal points, he hands his pipe to him, saying, "My wife is a mother!" The Sachem takes the pipe, smokes in his turn, and as he removes the pipe from his lips, he asks, "Is it a warrior?"

If the reply is affirmative, the Sachem puffs three whiffs towards the sun, if negative he draws but one. The father is conducted ceremoniously to a greater or less distance, according to the sex of the infant. A Savage, when he becomes a father, assumes a quite different sort of consequence in the nation; his dignity of man commences with his paternity.

After the thirty or forty days of purification, the mother prepares to return to her cabin. There the relatives assemble to give the child a name. The fire is extinguished; the old ashes are cast to the

winds, and a pile of fragrant woods is provided. The priest or sorcerer, with a match in his hand, holds himself in readiness to kindle the new fire; and the places around are purified by being sprinkled with spring water.

Presently the young mother approaches: she comes alone clad in a new dress, for she must not wear any thing that she had previously used. Her left breast is uncovered; her infant, completely naked, is pressed to it; she places one foot on the threshold of the door.

The priest sets fire to the pile: the husband advances and receives his child from the hands of his wife. He acknowledges it at once, and owns it aloud. Among some tribes the relatives of the same sex as the infant alone attend this ceremony. After kissing the lips of the child, the father delivers it to the oldest Sachem; it is then handed round to the whole family, and receives the blessing of the priest and the good wishes of the matrons.

They next proceed to the choice of a name: the mother still remains at the threshold of the hut. Each family has usually three or four names which recur alternately; but only those on the mother's side are ever thought of. According to the notion of the Savages, it is the father who creates the soul

of the infant; the mother begets merely the body:* it is therefore deemed but just that the body should have a name which comes from the mother.

When they design to confer a particular honour on a child, they give it the oldest name in the family, that of its grandmother, for instance. From that moment the child occupies the place of the female whose name it has received; in speaking of it they assign to it that degree of relationship which is revived by its name: thus an uncle can address his nephew by the title of *grandmother*—a custom which would be ludicrous, were it not infinitely touching. It may be said to restore ancestors to life; it reproduces in the feebleness of the first years the feebleness of old age; it connects and approximates the two extremities of life, the beginning and the end of the family; it communicates a kind of immortality to ancestors, by supposing them to be present in the midst of their posterity; it increases the attentions which the mother pays infancy by the recollection of those which were bestowed on hers: filial tenderness redoubles maternal affection.

After the name has been given, the mother enters the hut; the infant is delivered back to her, and

* See *The Natchez.*

thenceforward it belongs to her alone. She places it in a cradle. This cradle is a small board of the lightest wood, on which is laid a bed of moss or wild cotton: on this couch the infant is deposited stark naked; two bands of soft skin prevent its falling, without depriving it of the power of motion. Above the child's head is a hoop, over which is spread a veil to keep off the insects, and to afford coolness and shade to the little creature.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Indian mother;* I have described how she carries her children; how she suspends them from the branches of trees; how she sings to them; how she dresses them, lulls them to sleep and awakes them; how she mourns them when they die: how she sheds her milk on the turf of their grave, or catches their spirits upon the flowers.†

After marriage and birth, it would be right to treat of death, which closes the scenes of life; but I have so often described the funerals of the Savages, that this subject is almost exhausted.

I shall not therefore repeat what I have said in *Atala* and *The Natchez* relative to the manner in

* *Atala, Spirit of Christianity, The Natchez.*

† Respecting the education of children, see the letter given at p. 127 of this volume.

which the deceased is habited and painted, and the language in which they address him. I shall merely add, that among all the tribes it is customary for people to ruin themselves on account of the dead. The family distributes what it possesses among the guests invited to the funeral feast; and they must eat and drink up every thing in the cabin. At sun-rise they set up a loud howling over the coffin of bark on which the corpse is laid; at sun-set the howling is repeated; this lasts three days, at the expiration of which the deceased is interred. A hillock is thrown up over his grave; if he had been a renowned warrior, a stake painted red marks the place of sepulture.

Among several tribes the relatives of the deceased inflict wounds on their arms and legs. For a whole month the cries of grief are continued at sun-set and sun-rise, and for several years the anniversary of the loss sustained is greeted by the same cries.

When a Savage dies in winter while hunting, his body is kept on branches of trees, and the last honours are not paid to his remains till after the return of the warriors to the village of his tribe. The same practice formerly prevailed among the Muscovites.

Not only have the Indians different prayers and

ceremonies, according to the degree of kindred, the dignity, the age, and the sex of the deceased person, but they have also seasons of public exhumation,* of general commemoration.

Why are the savages of America among all the nations of the earth those who pay the greatest veneration for the dead? In national calamities the first thing they think of is to save the treasures of the tomb; they recognize no legal property but where the remains of ancestors have been interred. When the Indians have pleaded their right of possession they have always employed this argument which in their opinion was irrefragable: "Shall we say to the bones of our fathers—Rise and follow us to a strange land?" Finding that this argument was disregarded, what course did they pursue? they carried along with them the bones which could not follow.

The motives of this attachment to sacred relics may easily be discovered. Civilized nations have monuments of literature and the arts for memorials of their country; they have cities, palaces, towers, columns, obelisks; they have the furrows of the plough in the fields cultivated by them; their

* *Atala.*

names are engraven in brass and marble; their actions are recorded in their chronicles.

The Savages have none of these things: their names are not inscribed on the trees of their forests; their huts, built in a few hours, perish in a few moments; the wooden spade with which they till the soil has but just skimmed its surface, without being capable of turning up a furrow; their traditional songs are vanishing with the last memory which retains, with the last voice which repeats them. For the tribes of the New World there is therefore but a single monument—the grave. Take from the Savages the bones of their fathers, and you take from them their history, their laws, and their very gods; you rob these people in future times of the proof of their existence, and of that of their nothingness.

HARVEST, FESTIVALS, MAPLE SUGAR HARVEST, FISHERY, DANCES, AND DIVERSIONS.

HARVESTS.

It has been asserted and believed that the Savages derive no benefit from the soil; this is an error. They are principally hunters, it is true, but all of them apply themselves to some kind of culture, and all know how to employ plants and trees for the purposes of life. Those who occupied the fine country now forming the states of Georgia, Tenessee, Alabama, and Mississipi, were in this respect more civilized than the natives of Canada.

Among the Savages all public labours are festivals. When the last frosts were past, the Siminole, Chickasaw, and Natchez women, provided with spades of walnut-tree wood, lifted upon their heads baskets containing compartments filled with the seeds of maize, water-melons, beans, and sunflowers. They repaired to the common field, for which was usually chosen a situation easy to be defended, such as a neck of land between two rivers, or a spot surrounded by hills.

At one end of the field the women ranged themselves in a line, and began to break up the earth with their spades moving backwards.

While they thus freshened the old soil without forming any trench, other women followed them, sowing the space prepared by their companions. The beans and the maize were thrown together on the ground; the stalks of the maize being intended to serve for sticks to support the climbing vegetable.

Young girls were employed in making beds of fine black mould: on these beds they spread the seeds of gourds and sunflowers, and kindled around them fires of green wood, for the purpose of accelerating germination by means of the smoke.

The sachems and sorcerers presided over these operations, while the young men roved round about the common field, and drove away the birds by their shouts.

FESTIVALS.

The festival of the green corn took place in the month of June. A certain quantity of maize was gathered while the grain was yet full of milk. With this grain, which is then excellent, they made *tossomanony*, a sort of cake, which serves for provision in time of war or in hunting expeditions.

The ears of maize, having been set on the fire in spring-water, are removed when half boiled, and

roasted at a fire without blaze. When they have acquired a reddish colour the seed is picked out and thrown into a *poutagan*, or wooden mortar. The grain is moistened with water and pounded. The paste thus formed, when cut into slices and dried in the sun, will keep a very long time. To prepare it for use it need but be steeped in water, cocoa-nut milk, or maple liquor: in this state it affords a wholesome and agreeable food.

The principal festival of the Natchez was the festival of the new fire, a sort of jubilee in honour of the sun, at the season of the great harvest. The sun was the chief divinity of all the tribes bordering on the empire of Mexico.

A public crier went through the villages proclaiming the ceremony with the sound of a conch, in these terms:

"Let every family prepare the virgin vessels, and garments which have never been worn; let the huts be cleansed; let the old seed, the old clothes, the old utensils, be thrown away and burned in the common fire in the midst of each village; let the malefactors return and the Sachems forget their crimes!"

This amnesty granted by men to men at the moment when the earth lavished its treasures upon

them, this general invitation of the happy and the unfortunate, of the innocent and the guilty, to the great banquet of Nature, was a touching relic of the primitive simplicity of the human race.

On the second day the crier again made his appearance: he enjoined a fast of seventy-two hours, a strict abstinence from all pleasure, and at the same time prescribed the *medicine of purification.* All the Natchez took also a few drops of the juice of a root which they called *the root of blood.* This root belongs to a species of plantain, and yields a red liquor which is a violent emetic. During the three days of abstinence and prayer, profound silence was observed; and the people strove to detach their thoughts from earthly things, and to fix them exclusively on HIM who ripens the fruit on the tree, and the corn on the stalk.

At the conclusion of the third day the crier proclaimed the opening of the festival fixed for the next morning.

No sooner had the dawn begun to tinge the sky than the young females, the young warriors, the matrons, and the Sachems, were seen advancing along paths glistening with dew. The temple of the Sun, a large building which received light by two doors alone, one facing the east and the other

the west, was the place of meeting. The east door was opened; and the floor and sides of the temple were spread with fine mats, painted and adorned with various hieroglyphics. Baskets, ranged in order in the sanctuary, contained the bones of the oldest chiefs of the nation, like the tombs in our Gothic churches.

On an altar placed opposite to the east door so as to receive the first rays of the rising sun, stood an idol representing a chouchouacha. This animal, of the size of a sucking pig, has the coat of a badger, the tail of a rat, and the paws of a monkey: the female has at her belly a pouch in which she carries her young. On the right of the image of the chouchouacha was the likeness of a rattlesnake, and on the left a grotesque figure rudely carved. In a stone vase before these symbols was kept a fire of oak-bark, which was never suffered to go out but on the eve of the festival of the new fire or the harvest: the first fruits were hung around the altar, and the people arranged in the temple in the following order:

The Great Chief, or the *Sun*, on the right of the altar; on the left, the Female Chief; the only woman who had a right to enter the sanctuary; next to the *Sun* were placed successively the two war

chiefs, the two officers for making treaties, and the principal Sachems ; by the side of the Female Chief were seated the edile, or inspector of the public works, the four heralds who proclaimed the festivals, and then the young warriors. On the ground before the altar, pieces of dried reeds, laid obliquely upon one another, formed concentric circles, the different revolutions of which, as they receded from the centre, embraced a diameter of twelve or thirteen feet.

The high priest, standing at the threshold of the temple, kept his eyes fixed on the east. Before he presided at this feast he plunged three times into the Mississipi. He was wrapped in a white robe of birch bark, girt round the loins with the skin of a serpent. The old stuffed owl which he carried on his head had given place to the skin of a young bird of the same species. The priest slowly rubbed two pieces of dry wood against one another, and pronounced in a low tone certain magical words. Two assistants at his side held by the handles two goblets full of a sort of black sherbet. All the women, with their backs turned to the east, resting with one hand on their spades, and holding their little children with the other, formed on the outside a large circle at the door of the temple.

This ceremony had in it something august: the true God makes himself felt even in false religions; the man who prays is respectable; prayer addressed to the Deity is so holy in its nature that it imparts something sacred even to him by whom it is uttered, whether innocent, guilty, or unfortunate. It was an affecting sight to behold a nation assembled in the wilderness at the season of harvest, to thank the Almighty for his bounty, and to praise that Creator who perpetuates the memory of the creation by commanding every morning his sun to rise upon the world.

Profound silence meanwhile pervaded the congregation. The high-priest attentively observed the variations of the heavens. When the colours of aurora, changed from rose to crimson, began to be traversed by rays of pure flame, and became more and more lively, the priest accelerated the collision of the two pieces of dry wood. A match made of elder pith was prepared to catch the spark. The two masters of the ceremonies advanced with measured steps, the one towards the Great Chief, the other toward the Female Chief. They bowed from time to time; and stopping at length before the Great Chief and the Female Chief, they stood perfectly motionless.

A flood of flame poured from the east, and the upper portion of the sun's disk appeared above the horizon. At that instant the priest pronounced the sacred *Oah;* fire issued from the wood heated by the friction; the match was lighted, and the women, outside the temple, suddenly turned round, and raised simultaneously their infants and their implements of husbandry towards the orb of day.

The Great Chief and the Female Chief drank the black sherbet presented to them by the masters of the ceremonies, and the sorcerer set fire to the circles of reed: the flame wound about following their spiral direction. The oak bark was kindled on the altar, and this new fire afterwards served as new seed for the extinguished fires of the village. The Great Chief struck up the hymn to the sun.

The circles of reed being consumed, and the hymn finished, the Female Chief left the temple, and put herself at the head of the women; who, ranged in a line, repaired to the common harvest field: the men were not allowed to follow. They went to gather the first-fruits of the maize, for the purpose of offering up part in the temple, and of making with the rest unleavened bread for the banquet at night.

On their arrival at the plantations, the women plucked in the plot of ground allotted to their re-

spective families some of the finest ears of maize—a superb plant, the stalks of which, seven feet in height, surrounded with green leaves and supporting a roll of golden grains, resemble the distaffs adorned with ribbons which our peasant girls consecrate in the village churches. Thousands of blue thrushes, and small pigeons no larger than a blackbird, the plumage of which is gray mixed with brown, alight on the stems and fly away at the approach of the female reapers, who are completely hidden in the avenues by the tall corn. The black foxes also sometimes commit considerable ravages in these plantations.

The women returned to the temple, carrying the first fruits in bundles on their heads; the high-priest received the offering, which he deposited on the altar. The east door of the sanctuary was then closed, and the west door opened.

Assembled at the latter door when the day was about to close, the multitude formed a crescent, the two points of which were turned towards the sun: the assistants, with their right arms raised, presented the unleavened loaves to the orb of light. The sorcerer sung the evening hymn; it was a hymn of praise to the sun at his setting: his nascent rays

had caused the maize to grow; his departing rays sanctified the cakes made of the gathered grain.

At nightfall fires were lighted, and at these were roasted young bears, which, being fattened on wild grapes, were excellent eating at this season of the year. Turkeys of the savannahs, black partridges, and pheasants of a larger kind than those of Europe, were broiled upon the coals. These birds, cooked in this manner, were called *the food of the white men.* The beverage and fruits served up at these repasts were the juice of smilax, maple, plane, and white walnut-tree, may-apples, plankmines, and walnuts. The plain was illumined by the flames of the fires; on every side were heard the sounds of the chichikoué, the tambourine, and the fife, mingled with the voices of the dancers and the plaudits of the multitude.

If at these festivals any unfortunate person, withdrawing from the company, stood apart watching the sports of the plain, a Sachem would go up to him and enquire the cause of his dejection: he healed his woes, if they were not past cure, or at least relieved them, if of such a nature that they could not be wholly dispelled.

The maize is reaped by pulling up the stalks, or

by cutting them at the height of two feet from the ground. The grain is preserved in skins, or in pits lined with reeds. The ears are also kept entire, and the grain is husked as wanted. To reduce it to flour it is pounded in a mortar, or ground between two stones. The Savages also use hand-mills purchased from the Europeans.

The harvest of the wild oats, or wild rice, immediately follows the maize harvest; but this I have described in another place.*

MAPLE SUGAR HARVEST.

The juice of the maple was and still is collected by the Savages twice a year. The first collection takes place about the end of February, March, or April, according to the latitude of the country in which the sugar-maple grows. The liquor collected after the slight night-frosts is converted into sugar by being boiled over a strong fire. The quantity of sugar obtained by this process differs according to the qualities of the tree. This sugar, light of digestion, and of a greenish colour, has an agreeable and somewhat acid taste.

* *The Natchez.*

The second collection takes place when the sap of the tree has not sufficient consistency to become sugar. This sap is condensed into a sort of treacle or syrup, which, dissolved in spring water, furnishes a cooling beverage during the heats of summer.

Great care is taken to preserve the maple-woods of the red and white species. The most productive maples are those the bark of which looks black and scabby. The Savages conceive that these appearances are occasioned by the black red-headed woodpecker, which pierces such trees in which the sap is most abundant. They consequently respect this woodpecker as an intelligent bird and a good spirit.

About four feet from the ground two holes are made in the trunk of the maple, three quarters of an inch deep, and bored obliquely upward, to facilitate the effusion of the sap.

These first two incisions are turned to the south: two similar ones are made towards the north. These holes are afterwards bored, according as the tree yields its sap, to the depth of two inches and a half.

Two wooden troughs are placed on the two sides of the tree facing the north and south, and tubes of elder are introduced into the holes, to conduct the sap into these troughs.

Every twenty-four hours the sap which has run

off is removed; it is carried into sheds covered with bark, and boiled in a pan of water, care being taken at the same time to skim it. When it is reduced to one half by the action of a clear fire, it is poured into another pan, in which it is again boiled till it has acquired the consistence of a syrup. Being then taken from the fire, it is allowed to stand for twelve hours. At the expiration of that time it is emptied into a third pan; but care must be taken not to shake the sediment deposited at the bottom of the liquor.

The third pan is in its turn set upon charcoal half-burned and without flame. A little fat is thrown into this syrup to prevent its boiling over. When it begins to be ropy, it must be poured into a fourth and last wooden vessel, called *the cooler*. A strong female keeps stirring it round without stopping, with a cedar stick, till it acquires the grain of sugar. She afterwards runs it off into bark moulds, which give to the coagulated fluid the shape of small conical loaves: the operation is then finished.

In making molasses only the process ends with the second boiling.

The maple juice keeps running for a fortnight, and this fortnight is a continued festival. Every

morning the maple wood, usually irrigated by a stream of water, is visited. Groups of Indians of both sexes are dispersed at the foot of the trees; the young people dance or play at different games; the children bathe under the inspection of the Sachems. From the gaiety of these Savages, from their demi-nudity, from the sprightliness of their dances, from the not less noisy wrestling-matches of the bathers, from the coolness of the water, and from the venerable age of the trees, you might imagine you beheld one of those frolics of Fauns and Dryads described by the poets:

> Tum vero in numerum Faunos ferasque videres
> Ludere.

FISHERY.

The Savages are as skilful in fishing as expert in the chace. They fish with hooks and nets; and they also know how to empty ponds. But they have great public fisheries. The most celebrated of all these fisheries was that of the sturgeon, which took place in the Mississipi and its branches.

It opened with the marriage of the net. Six warriors and six matrons carrying the net advanced into the midst of the spectators in the public place,

and demanded in marriage for their son, the net, two young females whom they pointed out.

The parents of the girls signified their consent, and the girls and the net were married by the sorcerer with the customary ceremonies. The Doge of Venice married the sea.

The marriage was succeeded by characteristic dances. The people then proceeded to the river where the canoes and boats were assembled at the bank. The new wives, enveloped in the net, were borne at the head of the procession: the party embarked after providing themselves with pine-torches and stones for striking fire. The net, its wives, the sorcerer, the Great Chief, four Sachems, and eight warriors as rowers, put off in a large canoe, which took the lead of the fleet.

This fleet sought some bay frequented by the sturgeon. By the way they fished for any sort of fish; for trout with the drag-nets, and for the armed fish with the hook. The sturgeon is struck with an harpoon fastened to a cord, which is tied to the inner bar of the canoe. The fish when struck strives to escape and draws the canoe after it; but by degrees its speed decreases, and it rises to the surface of the water and expires. The different attitudes of the fishermen, the play of the oars, the

motion of the sails, the position of the canoes, grouped or scattered, showing the side, the prow, or the stern, exhibit altogether a most picturesque sight: the scenery on shore forming the motionless back-ground to this moving picture.

At nightfall torches were lighted in the canoes, and their flame was repeated in the surface of the water. The canoes being now pretty close together, threw masses of shade on the reddened waves; you would have taken the Indian fishermen moving about in these vessels for their own Manitous, those fantastic beings, begotten by superstition and the dreams of the Savage.

At midnight the sorcerer gave the signal for retreat, declaring that the net wished to retire with its two wives. The canoes drew up in two lines. A torch was symmetrically and horizontally placed between every two rowers on board the canoes; these torches, parallel with the surface of the river, appeared or were intercepted from view by the undulation of the waves, and resembled flaming oars plunging into the water to speed the canoes along.

The epithalamium of the net was then sung: the net, in all the glory of a bridegroom, was declared conqueror of the sturgeon, which wears a crown, and is twelve feet in length. The rout of the whole

army of fish was delineated;—the lencornet, the barbs of which serve to entangle its enemy; the chaousaron, provided with a dentated lance, hollow and perforated at the end; the artimegue, which unfurls a white flag; the crabs, which precede the warrior-fish to clear the way for them—all these were vanquished by the net.

Then came stanzas describing the affliction of the widows of these fishes. "In vain these widows learn to swim: never more shall they behold those with whom they love to rove in the submarine forests; never more shall they repose with them on beds of moss covered by a transparent dome." The net is invited, after all these exploits, to sleep in the arms of its two wives.

DANCES.

Among the savages, as among the ancient Greeks and most infant nations, dancing is mixed with all the actions of life. They dance at marriages, and the women partake of this dance; they dance to welcome a guest, and to smoke a calumet; they dance at the harvest; they dance at the birth of a child; and they dance above all for the dead. Every hunting party has its dance, which consists in the imitation of the motions, manners, and cries, of

the animal which they are going in pursuit of: they climb like a bear, build like a beaver, gallop round and round like a bison, bound like a roebuck, howl like a wolf, yelp like a fox.

In the dance of the brave, or war-dance, the warriors, completely armed, range themselves in two lines; a boy marches before them, with a chichikoué in his hand: this is the *child of dreams*, the child who has dreamt under the inspiration of the good or evil Manitous. Behind the warriors comes the sorcerer, prophet, or augur, who interprets the dreams of the boy.

The dancers presently form a double circle, bellowing softly, while the boy, remaining in the centre of this circle, utters, with downcast eyes, some unintelligible words. When the boy raises his head the warriors leap and bellow louder: they devote themselves to Athaënsic, the Manitou of hatred and revenge. A sort of leader of the band keeps time by striking upon a tambourine. Sometimes the dancers fasten to their feet small bells purchased from the Europeans.

If they are on the point of setting out on an expedition a chief takes the place of the boy, harangues the warriors, strikes with a club the image of a man or that of the enemy's Manitou, rudely de-

lineated on the ground. The warriors, renewing the dance, in like manner attack the image, imitate the attitudes of a man fighting, brandish their clubs or their hatchets, handle their muskets or their bows, and wave their knives with convulsions and howlings.

On the return of the expedition, the war-dance is still more frightful: heads, hearts, mangled limbs, scalps with their bloody hair, are suspended to stakes fixed in the ground. The victors dance about these trophies, and the prisoners who are to be burned are witnesses of these horrible merrimakings. I shall treat of some other dances of this nature in the article on war.

SPORTS.

Play is an action common to man: it has three sources—nature, society, and the passions. Hence three sorts of sports: the sports of childhood, the sports of manhood, and the sports of idleness or of the passions.

The sports of childhood, invented by the children themselves, are found all the world over. I have seen the little Savage, the little Bedouin, the little Negro, the little Frenchman, the little Englishman, the little German, the little Italian, the little Spani-

ard, the little oppressed Greek, the little oppressing Turk, throw the ball and trundle the hoop. Who taught these children, differing so widely in their races, their manners, and their countries—who taught them all the same games? The Master of mankind, the Father of the one great family: he taught innocence these amusements for the development of the bodily powers; he made them a want of nature.

The second class of games is that which, serving to teach an art, is a want of society. In this class must be placed the gymnastic games, the chariot-races, the naumachia, of the ancients; the jousts, the tilts, the tourneys, and feats of arms, of the middle ages; the tennis, the fencing, the horse-races, and games of address, of the moderns. The theatre, with its pomp, is a thing apart, and genius claims it as one of its creatures. In the same predicament are certain combinations of the mind, as draughts and chess.

The third sort of games, the games of chance, is the class in which man risks fortune, honour, nay sometimes even liberty and life, with a folly which borders on madness: this is a want of the passions. Dice among the ancients, cards among the moderns, and the game of bones among the Savages of North

America, belong to the number of these baneful recreations.

All the three kinds of games of which I have been treating are to be found among the Indians.

The games of their children are those of ours; they have ball and tennis,* racing, and shooting with the bow, for youth; and besides, the *game of feathers*, which reminds us of an ancient game of chivalry.

The warriors and the young girls dance round four poles, to which are fastened feathers of different colours. From time to time a young man quits the ranks of his companions, and snatches a feather of the colour worn by his mistress: he sticks this feather in his hair, and rejoins the dancers. From the disposition of the feather, and the form of the steps, the girl guesses the place which her lover indicates for their meeting. There are warriors who take feathers of a colour not worn by any of the females, to signify that they are not in love, or are not loved. Married women are admitted only as spectators on these occasions.

Among the games of the third class, the games of idleness, or of the passions, I shall describe only that of the bones.

* *The Natchez.*

At this game the Savages stake their wives, their children, and their liberty; and when they have played upon promise and lost, they keep their promise. Strange inconsistency! Man, who frequently violates the most sacred oaths, who laughs at the laws, who scruples not to cheat his neighbour, and sometimes his friend, who makes a merit of deceit and duplicity, considers it a point of honour to fulfil the engagements of his passions, to keep his word with guilt, to be sincere towards the frequently culpable authors of his ruin and the accomplices of his depravity!

In the game of the bones, also called the *game of the dish*, two persons only hold the hand; the rest of the players bet for or against: the two adversaries have each their marker. The game is played on a table, or on the bare ground.

The two players who hold the hand are provided with six or eight dice, or bones, resembling peach-stones, cut into six unequal faces: the two largest faces are painted, the one white, the other black.

The bones are mixed in a somewhat concave wooden dish; the player makes this dish spin round; then striking the table or the ground, he causes the bones to leap up into the air.

If all the bones, when they fall, turn up the same

colour, the player wins five points; if five out of six or eight present the same colour, the player wins but one point for the first time; but if the same player repeats the same trick, he sweeps the whole, and wins the game, which is forty.

The same number of points as one gains, the same number he takes from his antagonist. The winner continues to hold the hand; the loser gives up his place to one of the betters at his elbow, appointed at pleasure by the marker on his side. The markers are the principal persons in this game; they are chosen with great caution; and those are especially preferred whose Manitou is supposed to be the strongest and the most skilful.

The appointment of markers is attended with violent altercations. If one party has chosen a marker whose Manitou, that is, fortune, is deemed formidable, the other party opposes this nomination. Sometimes a person entertains a very high idea of the power of the Manitou of a man whom he detests; in this case interest gets the better of passion, and he selects this man for marker in spite of the hatred which he feels for him.

The marker holds in his hand a small board, on which he notes the throws with red chalk: the Savages throng round the players; all eyes are fixed

on the dish and the bones; each of the spectators offers prayers, and makes promises to the good spirits. Sometimes the amount of the stakes depending on the chance of the dice is immense for Indians: some stake their huts; others strip off their clothes, and stake them against those of the betters on the opposite side; others again, having lost all they possess, offer their liberty against a trifling stake, and propose to serve the man who shall win it of them for a certain number of months or years.

The players prepare for their ruin by religious observances: they fast, they watch, they pray; the unmarried keep away from their mistresses, the married men from their wives; dreams are carefully noted. The parties concerned provide themselves with a little bag, into which they put all the things of which they have dreamt, bits of wood, leaves of trees, fishes' teeth, and a hundred other Manitous supposed to be propitious. During the game, intense anxiety is painted in every face: the assembly would not be more deeply interested if the fate of the nation were at issue. They crowd round the marker; they strive to touch him, to place themselves under his influence; it is a real frenzy: each cast is preceded by profound silence, and followed by

loud acclamations. The applause of those who win, the imprecations of those who lose, are lavished upon the markers; and men usually modest and temperate in their language vomit forth abuse incredibly gross and atrocious.

When the cast is to be decisive, the gamblers frequently pause before they proceed to it: betters on one side or the other declare that the moment is unlucky, and that the bones must not yet be made to leap out. One player, apostrophizing these bones, reproaches them with their malignity, and threatens to burn them: another desires that the game may not be decided till he has thrown a bit of tobacco into the river: several with loud shouts call for the final cast, but a single voice need but oppose it, and the cast is by right suspended. At length, when all the parties seem to have agreed to terminate the affair, one of the betters cries: "Stop! stop! it is the furniture of my hut that brings me ill luck!" He runs to his cabin, breaks all the furniture in pieces, and throws them out of doors, and then returns, saying, "Play away! play away!"

A better frequently takes it into his head that his ill luck is owing to a particular person: that person is in consequence obliged to retire, if he is not concerned in the game, or if there is not to be found

another man whose Manitou is able, in the opinion of the better, to overcome the Manitou of him who causes the ill luck. It has happened that French commandants in Canada, present at these deplorable scenes, have been necessitated to retire to gratify the whims of an Indian. Whims of this kind are not to be treated lightly; the whole nation would take up the quarrel in behalf of the player, religion would interfere in the matter, and blood would be spilt.

Lastly, when the decisive cast is played, few of the Indians have the courage to endure the sight of it: most of them throw themselves on the ground, shut their eyes, stop their ears, and await the decree of fortune as they would a sentence of life or death.

THE YEAR, DIVISION AND REGULATION OF TIME, NATURAL CALENDAR.

THE YEAR.

The Savages divide the year into twelve moons, a division which occurs to all mankind; for the moon, disappearing and returning twelve times, cuts the year in a visible manner into twelve parts; whilst the solar year, the real year, is not indicated by variations in the sun's disk.

DIVISION OF TIME.

The twelve moons derive their names from the labours, the blessings, and the afflictions of the Savages, the gifts and accidents of Nature; consequently, the names vary according to the country and custom of the different tribes. Charlevoix furnishes a considerable number of them. A modern traveller (M. Beltrami) gives the following names of the months of the Sioux and the Chipaways.

Names of the Months in the Sioux Language.

March,	Wisthociasia-onì,	Moon of sore eyes.
April,	Mograhoandì-onì,	——— game.
May,	Mograhochandà-onì,	——— nests.
June,	Wojusticiascià-onì,	——— strawberries.
July,	Champascià-onì,	——— cherries.
August,	Tantankakiocu-onì,	——— buffaloes.

September,	Wasipi-onì,	Moon of wild oats.
October,	Sciwostapi-onì,	——end of the wild oats.
November,	Takiouka-onì,	—— the roebuck.
December,	Ah esciakiouska-onì,	—— the roebuck shedding his horns.
January,	Ouwikari-onì,	—— valour.
February,	Owiciata-onì,	—— wild cats.

Months of the Chipaways in the Algonquin Language.

June,	Hode ï min-quìsìs,	Moon of cherries.
July,	Mikin-quìsìs,	—— burned fruits.
August,	Wathebaqui-quìsìs,	—— yellow leaves.
September,	Inaqui-quìsìs,	—— falling leaves.
October,	Bina-hamo-quìsìs,	—— the passing game.
November,	Kaskadino-quìsìs,	—— snow.
December,	Manito-quìsìs	—— the little Spirit.
January,	Kitchi-Manito-quìsìs,	——— great Spirit.
February,	Wamebinni-quìsìs	—— arriving eagles.
March,	Wabanni-quìsìs,	—— hardened snow.
April,	Pokaodaquimi-quìsìs,	—— snow-shoes to feet.
May,	Wabigon-quìsìs,	—— flowers.

Years are numbered by snows or by flowers; the aged man and the young girl thus find the symbol of their ages in the name of their years.

NATURAL CALENDAR.

In astronomy, the Indians scarcely know any thing beyond the polar star; they call it the *motionless star*, and direct their course by it at night. The Osages have observed and named some constellations. By day the Savages have no need

of compass; in the savannahs the points of the grass which incline to the south, and in the forests the moss which attaches itself to the trunks of the trees on the side facing the north, indicate those two points. They draw upon bark geographical maps in which the distances are specified by nights' journeys.

The different boundaries of their territory are rivers, mountains, a rock where a treaty has been concluded, a grave on the margin of a forest, a cavern of the Great Spirit in a valley.

The birds, the quadrupeds, the fishes, serve the Savages for barometer, thermometer, and calendar. They say that the beaver has taught them the arts of building and government, the carcajou to hunt with dogs, because he goes a-hunting with the wolves, and the water-sparrow to fish with an oil which attracts the fishes.

The pigeons, in endless flights, and the American woodcocks with ivory bills, are the heralds of autumn to the Indians; the parrots and woodpeckers foretell rain by their tremulous whistling.

When the notes of the maukawis, a species of quail, are heard in the month of April from sunrise to sun-set, the Siminole makes sure that the frosts are over, and the women sow the summer

seeds: but when the maukawis perches at night upon a cabin, the inhabitant of that cabin prepares for death.

If the white bird sports aloof in the air, this indicates a storm; if it flies in the evening before the traveller, throwing itself from one wing upon the other, as if frightened, it forebodes danger.

In critical circumstances for the country, the sorcerers affirm that Kitchi-manitou appears above the clouds, borne by his favourite bird, the wakon, a species of bird-of-paradise, with brown wings and a tail adorned with four long green and red feathers.

The harvesting, the games, the hunting-expeditions, the dances, the meetings of the Sachems, the ceremonies of marriage, birth, and death, are all regulated by observations gleaned from the history of nature. It is obvious that these usages must infuse much grace and poetry into the ordinary language of these people. Ours make merry at the Grenouillère, climb a well-greased pole, reap in the middle of August, sow onions at the feast of St. Fiacre, and marry on St. Nicholas's day.

MEDICINE.

Among the Savages the science of the physician is a sort of initiation; it is called the *great medicine:* the members of this profession are admitted into it as into a kind of free-masonry. It has its secrets, its dogmas, and its rites.

If the Indians could banish from the treatment of diseases the superstitious customs and impostures of the priests, they would know all that is essential to be known in the healing art; nay, we might even assert, that this art is almost as far advanced among them as among the civilized nations.

They are acquainted with a great number of simples proper for healing wounds, and with the use of the *garent-oguen,* which they also call *aba sout-chenza,* on account of its form: it is the *ginseng* of the Chinese. With the inner bark of the sassafras they stop intermittent fevers: the roots of the ivy-leaved lychnis enable them to reduce swellings of the abdomen: they employ the *bellis* of Canada, which is six feet high, and has thick channeled leaves, against mortification; it completely cleanses ulcers, whether reduced to powder, or applied raw and bruised. The three-leaved hedisaron, the red flowers of which are arranged like an ear of corn, possesses the same virtue as the bellis.

According to the Indians, the form of plants has analogies and resemblances to the different parts of the human body which those plants are destined to cure, or to the noxious animals whose venom they neutralize. This observation appears worthy of attention: the simple tribes who disdain the indications of Providence less than we do, are less liable to mistakes than we.

One of the principal remedies employed by the Savages in many diseases is the vapour-bath. For this purpose they build a hut which they call the *Sweaters' Hut.* It is constructed of boughs of trees, planted in the ground in a circle, and fastened together at top, so as to form a cone. They are covered externally with the skins of different animals: a very small aperture is left close to the ground for an entrance, by which the patient crawls in on all fours. In the centre of this stove is a pan full of water which is made to boil by means of red-hot stones that are thrown into it: the steam which rises from the pan is burning hot, and in a very few minutes the patient is covered with perspiration.

The Indians are not by far such proficients in surgery as in medicine. They have nevertheless contrived to compensate for the want of our instruments by ingenious inventions. They thoroughly understand the bandages applicable to simple fractures:

they have bones as sharp as lancets for bleeding and for scarifying rheumatic limbs; they suck the blood by means of a horn, and draw just the prescribed quantity. Shells of gourds, filled with combustible matters to which they set fire, serve them instead of cupping-glasses. They open blisters with the nerves of the roebuck, and make syphons with the bladders of different animals.

The principles of the fumigatory box, employed some time ago in Europe for the recovery of drowned persons, are known to the Indians. For this purpose they employ a large gut, closed at one end, and having a small wooden tube inserted in the other: this gut is inflated with smoke, and the smoke is introduced into the intestines of the patient.

Each family keeps what is called a *medicine bag*. It is a bag full of Manitous and various simples of great efficacy. This bag is carried to war; in the camp it is a palladium, in the hut a household god.

The women retire to the hut of purification to lie-in: there they are attended by matrons. The latter have a sufficient knowledge of midwifery for ordinary cases, but they have not the instruments requisite for difficult labours. When the child pre-

sents wrong, and they cannot turn it, they suffocate the mother, who, struggling with death, delivers herself by the effort of a last convulsion. They always apprize the woman of her situation before they recur to this expedient; and she never hesitates to sacrifice herself. Sometimes the suffocation is not complete, and the infant and the heroic mother are both saved.

It is also the practice in these desperate cases to throw the lying-in woman into a violent fright; a number of young men silently approach the hut of purification, and all at once set up the war-whoop: but this alarm fails of its effect with courageous women, and there are many such.

When a Savage falls sick, all his relatives repair to his hut. The word death is never uttered in the presence of a friend of the patient's: the grossest insult that can be offered to a man is to say, "Thy father is dead."

We have exhibited the serious side of the medicine of the Savages; let us now turn to the ludicrous side; that side which an Indian Molière would have painted, were there not something melancholy attached to that which reminds us of the moral and physical infirmities of our nature.

If the patient swoons, at such times when he is

supposed to be dead, the relatives, seated according to the degrees of consanguinity around the mat of the sick person, set up a howling which may be heard at the distance of half a league. When the patient recovers his senses, the howling ceases, to be renewed at the next crisis.

Meanwhile the sorcerer arrives; the patient asks him if he shall recover: the sorcerer does not fail to answer that none but himself can restore him to health. The patient, believing that he is at the point of death, then addresses his relatives, comforts them, and exhorts them to dispel sorrow and to eat heartily.

The patient is covered with grass, roots, and pieces of bark; the sorcerer blows with the tube of a pipe on those parts of the body which is supposed to be the seat of the disease: he whispers into his mouth to exorcise the infernal spirit, if not yet too late.

The patient himself gives directions for the funeral repast: all the provisions left in the hut must be consumed. The first thing they do is to kill the dogs, that they may go and apprize the Great Spirit of the speedy arrival of their master. Notwithstanding these puerilities, the simplicity with which a Savage performs the last act of life has in it something grand.

The sorcerer, in declaring that the patient will die, screens his skill from imputation in case of that event, and excites admiration of his art if the sick person should recover. When he perceives that the danger is over, he says nothing, and commences his incantations.

He first pronounces words which nobody understands; he then exclaims, "I will discover the enchantment! I will force Kitchi-Manitou to flee before me!"

He leaves the cabin; the relatives follow him: he runs off to the *Sweaters' Hut*, to receive the divine inspiration. Ranged in mute terror around this vapour-bath, the relatives listen to the priest, who howls, sings, shouts, and accompanies himself on the chichikoué. Presently he creeps forth from the hut stark naked, his mouth foaming and his eyes distorted: he plunges, dripping with perspiration, into cold water, rolls on the ground, counterfeits death, revives, and flies to his hut, ordering the relatives to go and wait for him at the dwelling of the patient, where he soon arrives, holding a piece of half-lighted charcoal in his mouth and a snake in his hand.

After fresh contortions round the patient, he drops the charcoal, and exclaims, "Wake thee! I

promise thee life. The Great Spirit hath revealed to me what was causing thy death." Like a raging maniac he falls upon the arm of his dupe, tears it with his teeth, and dropping from his mouth a small bone which he had concealed in it, "There," cries he, "is the mischief, which I have extracted from thy flesh!" The priest then demands a roe-buck and trout to make a feast, without which the patient cannot be cured, and the relatives are obliged to go out immediately a-hunting and fishing.

The physician eats his dinner. This is not sufficient. The patient is threatened with a relapse, unless the mantle of a chief who resides two or three days' journey from the spot be obtained within an hour. The sorcerer knows this to be impossible; but as it is he who both prescribes the task and furnishes a dispensation, he excuses the relatives from the attempt to procure the sacred mantle required by heaven, on condition of their supplying four or five profane mantles of their own in its stead.

The vagaries of the patient, who naturally gets better, heightens the extravagance of this cure: he springs from his couch, and crawls on all fours behind the furniture of the hut. His friends question him to no purpose; he continues his round, and

sets up strange cries. They seize him, and replace him on his mat; they conceive him to be under the influence of a paroxysm of his disorder: for a moment he lies quiet, then rising unawares, he runs and throws himself into a pond, from which he is extricated with difficulty. Drink is handed to him. "Give it to that elk," says he, pointing to one of his kinsmen.

The physician strives to discover the cause of the new delirium of his patient. "I fell asleep," gravely replies the latter, "and dreamt that I had a bison in my belly." The family seem to be thunderstruck; but all at once the persons present cry out that they too are possessed with some animal: one imitates the cry of a carribou, another the barking of a dog, a third the howl of a wolf; while the patient, on his part, counterfeits the bellowing of a bison: the uproar is tremendous. The dreamer is thrown into a perspiration by an infusion of sage and fir-branches, his imagination is cured through the complaisance of his friends, and he declares that the bison has gone out of his body. These fooleries, mentioned by Charlevoix, are acted daily among the Indians.

How happens it that the same man who rose so high when he conceived himself to be at the point of death, sinks so low when he is sure of recover-

ing? How happens it that sage elders, young men of excellent understanding, and sensible women, submit to the caprices of an ill-regulated mind? These are the mysteries of man — the two-fold evidence of his greatness and of his debasement.

INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Four principal languages seem to divide North America — the Algonquin and the Huron, in the north and east, the Sioux in the west, and the Chickasaw in the south; but the dialect of each tribe differs in some respects from that of every other.

The ancient Natchez was but a softer dialect of the Chickasaw. Like the Huron and the Algonquin, it admitted but two genders, the masculine and feminine, rejecting the neuter. This is natural to people who attach a meaning to every thing, who hear voices in murmurs, who ascribe hatred and love to plants, who give desires to water, immortal spirits to animals, and souls to rocks. The nouns in Natchez were indeclinable; they merely took in

the plural the letter *k* or the monosyllable *ki*, if the word terminated with a consonant.

The verbs were distinguished by the characteristic, the termination, and the augment. Thus the Natchez said *T-ija*, I walk; *ni Tija-ban*, I walked; *ni-ga Tija*, I will walk; *ni-ki Tija*, I have walked.

There were as many verbs as there were substantives exposed to the same action: thus to eat maize was a different verb from to eat venison; to walk in a forest was expressed in a different manner from to walk on a hill; *to love a friend* was rendered by the verb *napitilima*, which signifies, I esteem; *to love a mistress* was expressed by the verb *nisakia*, which may be translated by *I am happy*. In the languages of people not far removed from the state of nature, the verbs are either very numerous or very few in number, but loaded with a multitude of letters which vary their significations: the father, the mother, the son, the wife, the husband, have sought different terms to express their different feelings; they have modified, according to the human passions, the primitive speech which God gave to man with existence. This speech was one, and comprized all; man has derived from it languages, with their variations and their riches; languages in which are nevertheless

found some words radically the same, remaining as a type or proof of a common origin.

The Chickasaw, the root of the Natchez, is destitute of the letter *r*, excepting in words derived from the Algonquin, as *arrego*, I make war, which is pronounced with a sort of tearing to pieces of the sound. The Chickasaw has frequent aspirations for the language of the violent passions, such as hatred, anger, jealousy; in the tender feelings, and in descriptions of nature, its expressions are remarkably sweet and lofty.

The Sioux, who came, according to their tradition, from Mexico to the upper Mississipi, have extended the empire of their language from that river to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and northward to the Red River: there dwell the Chipaways, who speak a dialect of the Algonquin, and are enemies to the Sioux.

The Sioux language hisses in a manner extremely unpleasant to the ear: it is this that has given name to almost all the rivers and places to the west of Canada: the Mississipi, the Missouri, the Osage, &c. We know as yet nothing, or next to nothing, of its grammar.

The Algonquin and the Huron are the mother-tongues of all the tribes of that part of North Ame-

rica comprized between the sources of the Mississipi, Hudson's Bay, and the Atlantic, as far as the coast of Carolina. A traveller conversant with these two languages might traverse a space of more than eighteen hundred leagues without interpreter, and make himself understood by upwards of a hundred tribes.

The Algonquin language began at Acadia and the Gulph of St. Laurence; turning from the south-east by the north to the south-west, it embraced an extent of twelve hundred leagues. It was spoken by the natives of Virginia, beyond which, in the Carolinas, the Chickasaw language prevailed. The Algonquin idiom, to the north, terminated with the Chipaways. Still further northward the language of the Esquimaux makes its appearance; in the west, the Algonquin language extended to the left bank of the Mississipi: on the right bank prevails that of the Sioux.

The Algonquin has less energy than the Huron, but it is softer, clearer, more elegant: it is commonly used in treaties, and is regarded as the polished or classic language of the desert.

The Huron was spoken by the tribe from which it is named and by the Iroquois, a colony of that tribe.

The Huron is a complete language, having its verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adverbs. The simple verbs have a double conjugation, one absolute, the other reciprocal: the third persons are of both genders, and the numbers and tenses follow the mechanism of the Greek language. The active verbs are multiplied to infinity, as in the Chickasaw language.

The Huron is without labials; it is guttural, and almost all the syllables are aspirated. The diphthong *ou* forms an extraordinary sound, which is uttered without any motion of the lips. The Missionaries not knowing how to express it in writing, have adopted the figure 8 for the purpose.

The genius of this noble language consists chiefly in personifying the action, that is, in giving an active turn to the passive. The following example is adduced in illustration by Father Rasle. If you asked a European, why God created him, he would tell you: "To know him, to love him, to serve him, and by these means to merit eternal glory." A Savage would reply in the Huron language: "The Great Spirit thought concerning us: Let them know me, let them love me, let them serve me, then will I cause them to enter into my illustrious felicity."

The Huron or Iroquois language has five principal dialects. This language has but four vowels,

a, *e*, *i*, *o*, and the diphthong 8, which has somewhat of the nature of a consonant, and of the value of the English *w*; and it has six consonants, *h*, *k*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *t*.

In the Huron almost all nouns are verbs. There is no infinitive; the root of the verb is the first person in the present indicative.

There are three primitive tenses, out of which all the others are formed: the present indicative, the indefinite preterite, and the simple affirmative future.

There are scarcely any abstract substantives: the few which are to be found have evidently been formed later from the concrete verb, by modifying one of its persons.

The Huron has a dual like the Greek, and two first persons plural and dual; no auxiliary for conjugating verbs, no participles, no passive verbs; the passive is turned into active. *I am loved*, is expressed by, *Such a one loves me*. There are no pronouns to express the relations in the verbs: they are known only by the initial of the verb, which is modified as many different times and in as many different ways as there are possible relations between the different persons of the three numbers; and these are almost innumerable. These relations,

therefore, are the key to the language. When you have learned these—and they have fixed rules—you find no more difficulties.

One singularity is, that in the verbs the imperatives have a first person.

All the words of the Huron language are susceptible of being compounded together. It is a general rule, with very few exceptions, that the object of the verb, when it is not a proper name, is included in the verb itself, and forms but one word with it; but then the verb takes the conjugation of the noun, for all nouns belong to a conjugation. There are five conjugations.

This language has a great number of expletive particles, which by themselves have no signification, but when introduced in discourse impart great energy and precision. The particles are not always the same for men and for women; each gender has its own.

There are two genders; the noble gender for men, and the non-noble for women, and for the brutes, male and female. To say of a coward that he is a woman, they masculinize the word *woman*; to say of a woman that she is a man, they feminize the word *man*.

The mark of the noble and non-noble gender in

the singular, dual, and plural, is the same in nouns as in verbs, all of which have in every tense and in every number two third persons, noble and non-noble.

Each conjugation is absolute, reflected, reciprocal, and relative. I shall adduce an example:

Absolute Conjugation.

SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE.

Iks8ens—I hate.

DUAL.

Tenis8ens—Thou and I hate.

PLURAL.

Te8as8ens—Ye and we hate.

Reflected Conjugation.

SING.

Katats8ens—I hate myself.

DUAL.

Tiatats8ens—We hate ourselves.

PLURAL.

Te8attats8ens—Ye and we, &c.

For the reciprocal conjugation *te* is added to the reflected conjugation, and *r* is changed into *h* in the three persons of the singular and plural. We shall then have:

Tekatats8ens—I hate myself mutually with some person.

Rlative Conjugation of the same Verb, same Tense.

SING.

Relation of the First Person to the others.

Kons8ens—*Ego te odi.*

Relation of the Second to the others.

Taks8ens—*Tu me,* &c.

Relation of the Third Masculine to the others.

Raks8ens—*Ille me,* &c.

Relation of the Third Feminine to the others.

8aks8ens—*Illa me,* &c.

Relation of the Third Person indefinite, One.

Ionks8ens—One hates me.

DUAL.

The relation of the dual to the dual and to the plural becomes plural. I shall therefore give only the relation of the dual to the singular.

Relation of the Dual to the other Persons.

Kenis8ens—*Nos duo te,* &c.

The three persons dual to the others are the same as the plural.

PLURAL.

Relation of the First Plural to the others.

K8as8ens—*Nos te,* &c.

Relation of the Second Plural to the others.

Tak8as8ens—*Vos me,* &c.

Relation of the Third Masc. Plur. to the others.

Ronks8ens—*Illi me*, &c.

Relation of the Third Fem. Plur. to the others.

Ionks8ens—*Illæ me*, &c.

Conjugation of a Noun.

SINGULAR.

Hieronke—My body.

Tsieronke—Thy body.

Raieronke—His—to him.

Kaieronke—His—to her.

Ieronke—Some one's body.

DUAL.

Tenïeronke—Our *(meum et teum)*.

Iakeniieronke—Our *(meum et illum)*.

Seniieronke—Your two.

Niieronke—Their two to them (masc.)

Kaniieronke—Their two to them (fem.)

Te8aieronke—Our *(nost. et vest)*.

Iak8aieronke—Our *(nost. et illor)*.

And so with all nouns. On comparing the conjugation of this noun with the absolute conjugation of the verb *Iks8ens*, I hate, it will be seen that they are absolutely the same modifications in the three numbers: *k* for the first, *s* for the second, *r* for the third noble, *ka* for the third non-noble; *ni* for the dual. For the plural they add *te8a*, *se8a rati*, *konti*,

changing *k* into *te8a*, *s* into *ṣe8a*, *ra* in *rati*, *ka* into *konti*, &c.

The relation in consanguinity is always that of the greater to the less : for example :

My father, *rakenika*—He who has me for son (relation of the third person to the first.)

My son, *rienha*—He whom I have for son (relation of the first person to the third).

My uncle, *rakenchaa*, *rak* . . . (relation of the third person to the first.)

My nephew, *rion8atenha*, *ri* . . . . (relation of the first to the third person, as in the preceding verb).

The verb *to will* cannot be rendered in Iroquois. Instead of it they use *ikire*, to think, thus :

I will go thither.

Ikere etho iake—I think to go thither.

The verbs which express a thing that no longer exists at the time one is speaking have no perfect, but only an imperfect, as *ronnhek8e*, he did live, he does not now live.

By analogy with this rule, if I *did love* some one and *I still love* him, I use the perfect *kenon8ehon*. If I no longer love him, I use the imperfect ke-*non8esk8e* : I loved, but I love him not now.

So much for the tenses.

As to the persons, the verbs which express a

thing that a person does not voluntarily have no first persons, but only a third relative to others. Thus, I sneeze, *te8akitsionk8a*, relation of the third to the first: that *sneezes* me, or makes me sneeze. I yawn, *te8akskara8ata*, the same relation of the third non-noble to the first *8ak*, that *opens the mouth.*

For the terms of verbs, or indirect governments there is a sufficient variety of modifications to the finals which express intelligibly; and these modifications are subject to fixed rules.

Kninons, I buy. *Kehninonse*, I buy for somebody. *Kehninon*, I buy of somebody.—*Katennietha*, I send. *Kehnieta*, I send by somebody. *Keiatennietennis*, I send somebody.

From the mere examination of these languages it is obvious that tribes by us called Savages were far advanced in that civilization which depends on the combination of ideas. The details of their government will serve more and more to confirm this truth.*

* I have extracted most of the curious particulars which I have here given respecting the Huron language from a small manuscript Iroquois grammar, which M. Marcoux, missionary at the fall of St. Louis, district of Montreal, Lower Canada, had the kindness to send me. For the rest, the Jesuits have left important works relative to the languages of the Canadian

HUNTING.

When the elders have decided upon an expedition for hunting the beaver or the bear, a warrior goes through the villages from door to door saying: "The chiefs are about to set off: let those who choose to accompany them paint themselves black, and fast, that they may learn from the Spirit of Dreams where the bears and the beavers haunt this year."

Upon this proclamation all the warriors stain themselves black with soot mixed with bears' grease, and a fast of eight nights commences. This fast is so strict that they must not even drink a drop of water, and keep singing incessantly, that they may have favourable dreams.

When the fast is over the warriors bathe; a grand entertainment is held. Each Indian relates his dreams: if the greater number of these dreams

Savages. Father Chaumont, who had lived fifty years among the Hurons, composed a grammar of their language. To Father Rasle, who spent ten years in an Abenakis village, we are indebted for valuable documents. A French and Iroquois dictionary, a new treasure for philologists, is finished. There is also a manuscript dictionary, Iroquois and English, but unluckily the first volume, from A to L, has been lost.

points out a particular place for hunting, thither they resolve to repair.

An expiatory sacrifice is offered to the souls of the bears killed in preceding expeditions, and they conjure them to be favourable to the new hunters; that is to say, they entreat the deceased bears to let the living bears be knocked on the head. Each warrior sings his former exploits against the wild beasts.

Having finished the songs, they set out completely armed. On reaching the bank of a river, the warriors, holding paddles in their hands, seat themselves, two and two, at the bottom of the canoes. At a signal given by the chief, the canoes range themselves in a row; that which takes the lead serves to break the force of the water, when navigating against the course of the river. In these expeditions they take with them hunting-dogs, cords, snares, and snow-shoes.

Having arrived at the appointed place, the canoes are drawn ashore, and inclosed with a palisade filled up with turf. The chief divides his people into companies, each composed of the same number of persons. After this division of the hunters, they proceed to the division of the hunting district. Each company builds a hut in the centre of the lot that falls to its share.

The snow is cleared away; poles are fixed in the ground, and pieces of birch bark set up against these poles. On the bark which forms the walls of the hut are placed other pieces, inclining towards each other; these constitute the roof of the edifice: an aperture is left in the roof for the escape of the smoke. The snow stops up the crevices of the building on the outside, and serves instead of plaster or rough-cast. A fire is lighted in the middle of the hut; the floor is covered with skins; the dogs sleep at the feet of their masters; and the party, instead of suffering from cold, are stifled with heat. The whole place is filled with smoke; and the hunters, whether sitting or lying, strive to get below this smoke.

They wait till the snows have fallen, and till the north-west wind, clearing the sky again, has brought with it a dry frost, to commence beaver-hunting. But during the days which precede this monsoon, they employ themselves in catching other animals, such as wolves, foxes, and musk-rats.

The traps employed for these animals are planks of different sizes and thickness. A hole is made in the snow; one end of the plank is laid on the ground, the other end is set up on three pieces of wood in the form of the figure 4. The bait is

fastened to one of the limbs of this figure; the animal that comes to seize it creeps under the plank, pulls at the bait, throws down the trap, and is crushed to death.

The baits differ according to the animals for which they are destined: for the beaver they employ a piece of aspen wood, for the wolf and fox a lump of flesh, and for the musk-rat walnuts, and various sorts of dried fruit.

The traps for wolves are set at the entrance of passes, or at the outlet of a thicket; for foxes, on the slope of hills at some distance from warrens; for the musk-rat, in ash copses; for otters, in the ditches of prairies, and among the reeds of ponds.

The traps are examined in the morning. The hunters set out from the hut two hours before daylight. They walk over the snow in snow-shoes, eighteen inches long and eight broad, of an oval shape before, and ending in a point behind: the curve of the ellipsis is of birch wood, bent and hardened at the fire. The transverse and longitudinal bands are made of stripes of leather, six lines each way, and they are strengthened with osier twigs. The shoe is fastened to the foot by means of three fillets. Without this ingenious contrivance it would be impossible to stir a step in winter in

these regions; but they are at first galling and fatiguing, because they oblige the wearer to turn his knees in, and to keep his legs wide asunder.

When the Indians proceed to examine and to take up the traps in the months of November and December, they have generally to go through storms of snow, hail, and wind: they can scarcely see six inches before them. The hunters march in silence, but the dogs, scenting the prey, set up a howling. It requires all the sagacity of the Savage to find the traps, buried, with the tracks themselves, under snow and ice.

A stone's throw from the trap,s the hunter stops to wait for day-light; he stands motionless amidst the tempest, with his back turned to the wind and his fingers thrust into his mouth. From each hair of the skins in which he is clothed hangs an icicle, and the tuft of hair which crowns his head becomes a helmet of ice.

At the first dawn of day, when they perceive that the traps are down, they hasten to secure the prey. A wolf or a fox, with his back half broken, shows the hunters his white teeth and black throat: the dogs soon put him out of his misery.

The fresh snow is swept away, the trap is set again with a fresh bait, and care is taken to place

the ambush to leeward. Sometimes the traps are thrown down without taking the game: this accident is owing to the cunning of the foxes, which attack the bait by thrusting forward their paw by the side of the plank, instead of creeping under the trap, and bear off the booty safe and sound.

If this first visit to the traps has been lucky, the hunters return in triumph to the hut: the noise which they then make is incredible; they recount the captures of the morning; they invoke the Manitous; they shout all together; they are delirious with joy; and the dogs are not silent. This first success they regard as a most favourable omen for the future.

When the snow has ceased to fall, and its frozen surface glistens in the sun, the beaver-hunt is proclaimed. Solemn prayers are first offered to the Great Beaver, and an oblation of tobacco is presented to him. Each Indian provides himself with a club to break the ice, and a net to entangle the prey. But be the cold in winter ever so intense there are certain small ponds in Canada which never freeze: this phenomenon is owing either to the abundance of warm springs, or to the particular exposure of the ground.

These reservoirs of uncongealable water are often

formed by the beavers themselves, as I have observed in the article on Natural History. The following is the manner in which those peaceful creatures of God are destroyed.

In the dyke of the pond where the beavers dwell is made a hole large enough to drain off the water, and to leave the wonderful town quite dry. Standing on the dyke the hunters watch, club in hand, and their dogs behind them: they see the habitations become exposed as the water sinks. Alarmed at this rapid fall, the amphibious tribe, ignorant of the cause, but judging that a breach has been made in the dyke, instantly set about repairing it. Away they swim: some advance to examine the nature of the damage; others proceed to the shore in quest of materials for repairs; while others again set off for the country-houses to apprize the citizens of the circumstance. The unfortunate creatures are surrounded on all sides: at the dyke, the club strikes dead the workman who was endeavouring to repair the breach; the other who has sought refuge in his country habitation is no longer safe there: the hunter throws a powder which blinds, and the dogs strangle him. The shouts of the conquerors make the woods ring again, the water is entirely drained off, and the hunters proceed to the assault of the city.

The beavers are caught in the frozen ponds in a different manner: holes are made in the ice; imprisoned beneath their roofs of crystal, the beavers hasten to these holes for air. The hunters take care to cover them with flags, for without this precaution the beavers would discover the ambuscade, which is concealed from them by the reeds thrown upon the water. They therefore approach the air-hole; the eddy which they make in swimming betrays them: the hunter plunges his arm into the water, seizes the animal by one paw, and throws him on the ice, where he is surrounded by a circle of murderers, dogs and men. Hanging him up to a tree, a savage flays him half alive, that his skin may go beyond sea to make a covering for the head of an inhabitant of London or Paris.

The expedition against the beavers being over, the party return to the hunting hut, singing hymns to the Great Beaver, accompanied by the sound of the drum and the chichikoué.

The operation of flaying is performed in common. Posts are planted in the ground; two beavers are suspended by the hinder legs to each post, beside which two hunters take their places. At the command of the chief, the bellies of the slaughtered animals are ripped open, and their skins are

stripped off. Great is the consternation if there happens to be a female among the victims: not only is it a crime against religion to kill female beavers, but it is also a political offence, a cause of war between tribes. Nevertheless, the love of gain, the fondness for strong liquors, and the desire to possess fire-arms, have got the better of the power of superstition and the established law; great numbers of females have been caught, and this will tend sooner or later to the extinction of their race.

The expedition concludes with a feast upon the flesh of the beavers. An orator pronounces a panegyric on the deceased, as if he had not contributed to their death: he recapitulates all that I have related concerning their manners; he praises their intelligence and sagacity. "No longer," says he, "will ye hear the voices of the chiefs who commanded you, and whom you had chosen from among all the beaver-warriors to give you laws. Your language, which the sorcerers perfectly understand, will no longer be spoken in the recesses of the lake; ye will fight no more battles with your cruel enemies, the badgers. No, beavers! but your skins will serve to purchase arms; we will carry your smoked hams to our children; we will prevent our dogs from breaking your bones which are so hard."

All the discourse, all the songs of the Indians, prove that they associate themselves with the brutes; that they ascribe to them a character and a language; that they regard them as instructors, as beings endowed with an intelligent soul. The Scripture frequently holds forth the instinct of brutes as an example to man.

The hunting of the bear is the kind of hunt that is held in the highest estimation among the savages. It commences with long fasts, sacred purgations, and feasts: it takes place in winter. The hunters pursue frightful routes, along lakes, and between mountains, the precipices of which are hidden beneath the snow. In dangerous defiles they offer up the sacrifice reputed to have most effect upon the Spirit of the Desert: they hang a live dog to the boughs of a tree, and leave him there to expire mad. Huts hastily erected every evening afford a wretched shelter: they freeze in them on one side, and scorch on the other; and to defend themselves from the smoke, they have no other resource than to lie down on their bellies with their faces buried in skins. The famished dogs howl, and run to and fro over the bodies of their masters; and when the latter prepare to take a miserable repast, the dog, more alert, seizes and devours it.

After excessive fatigue they arrive at plains covered with forests of pines, the haunts of the bears. Hardships and dangers are forgotten; the action begins.

The hunters divide, and placing themselves at some distance from each other, they enclose a large circular space. Posted at different points of the circle, they proceed at a fixed hour along a radius tending to the centre, examining with care if any of the hollow trees upon this line harbours a bear. The animal betrays himself by the mark left by his breath in the snow.

As soon as the Indian has discovered the tree which he is in quest of, he calls his comrades, climbs the pine, and at the height of ten or twelve feet from the ground finds the hole by which the hermit has retired to his cell. If the bear is asleep, he cleaves his skull; two other hunters climb up after the first, and assist him to drag the dead beast out of his den, and to throw him down.

The warrior who found and conquered his foe then hastens to descend: he lights his pipe, puts the bowl into the bear's mouth, and, blowing down the tube, fills the throat of the animal with smoke. He then apostrophizes the spirit of the deceased; he implores him to forgive him for his death, and

not to thwart him in any hunting expeditions which he may hereafter undertake. After this harangue he cuts out the string of the bear's tongue, for the purpose of burning it at the village, in order to discover by the manner in which it crackles in the flames if the spirit of the bear is appeased or not.

The bear is not always housed in the hollow trunk of a pine: he frequently dwells in a den, the entrance of which he has closed. This hermit is sometimes so fat that he can scarcely walk, though he has lived part of the winter without food.

The warriors, who have set out from different points of the circle and proceeded toward the centre, meet there at last, carrying, dragging, or driving their prize before them: sometimes young savages are seen urging on with a stick an unwieldy bear, heavily trotting before them over the snow. When tired of this sport, they plunge a knife into the heart of the poor animal.

The hunting of the bear, like that of all other animals, finishes with a sacred repast. The custom is, to roast a bear whole, and to serve it out to the company, seated in a circle upon the snow, under the shelter of pines, the staged branches of which are likewise laden with snow. The head of the victim, painted red and blue, is exposed on the top

of a pole. Orators address themselves to it: they lavish praises on the deceased, while they are devouring his members. "How thou climbedst to the tops of trees! what force in thy hug! what perseverance in thy enterprizes! what temperance in thy fasts! Warrior with the thick fur, in spring the young she-bears burned for love of thee. Now thou art no more: but thy spoils still constitute the delight of those who possess them!"

At these feasts dogs, bears, and tame badgers, are often seen seated pell-mell with the Savages.

During these hunting expeditions the Indians make vows which it is very difficult for them to keep. They swear, for instance, not to eat till they have carried a paw of the first bear which they shall kill to their wives or mothers, though these wives and mothers are sometimes three or four hundred miles from the forest where the animal is slain. In these cases they consult the sorcerer, who, in consideration of a present, adjusts the business. The imprudent vow-makers get off with burning, in honour of the Great Hare, that part of the animal which they had destined for their relatives.

The season for hunting the bear is over about the end of February, at which time elk-hunting commences. Large herds of elks are found in the

young pine-woods. To catch them the Savages enclose a considerable space with two triangles of unequal dimensions, formed of tall stakes placed pretty close. These two triangles communicate by one of their angles, and snares are laid at this point. The base of the largest triangle is left open, and there the warriors range themselves in a single line. They presently advance, setting up loud shouts and beating a kind of drum. The elks run into the inclosure formed by the stakes. In vain they seek an outlet, and on reaching the fatal pass they are entangled in the nets. Such as clear these rush into the smaller triangle, where they are easily dispatched with arrows.

The hunting of the bison takes place in summer, in the savannahs bordering the Missouri and its branches. The Indians, beating the plain, drive the herds towards the river. When they will not run away, the hunters set fire to the grass, and the bisons find themselves cooped up between the fire and the water. Some thousands of these unwieldy animals bellowing together, forcing their way through the flames or the river, falling pierced by balls or sharp stakes, exhibit an extraordinary spectacle.

The Savages employ other means of attack

against the bisons: sometimes they disguise themselves as wolves, in order to get near them; at others they attract the females by imitating the lowing of the bull. In the last days of autumn, when the rivers are scarcely frozen, two or three tribes join to drive the herds towards these rivers. A Sioux, covered with a bison's skin, crosses the river on the weak ice; the animals, deceived by his appearance, follow; the frail bridge breaks under the clumsy beasts, which are slaughtered while floundering among the floating fragments. On these occasions the hunters use the arrow: the silent wound inflicted by that weapon does not affright the game, and the archer recovers the shaft when the animal is dispatched. The musket has not this advantage: both loss and noise attend the use of powder and ball.

Care is taken to approach the bisons to leeward, because they scent man at a great distance. The male, when wounded, returns to the charge; he defends the female, and frequently sacrifices his life for her.

The Sioux, roving in the savannahs on the right bank of the Mississipi, from the sources of that river to the fall of St. Anthony, keep horses of the Spanish breed, with which they hunt the bisons.

In this chace they have sometimes singular companions; these are the wolves. The latter follow in the train of the Indians to pick up what they leave behind, and seize the calves which straggle during the affray.

It is frequently the case too that these wolves go a-hunting by themselves. Three of them amuse a cow by their antics; while the simple creature is attentively watching the gambols of these traitors, another wolf, squatted in the grass, seizes her by the udder; she turns her head to rid herself of the assailant, and his three accomplices catch her by the throat.

On the theatre where these scenes occur, a sport not less cruel but less sanguinary, takes place a few months afterwards. It is directed against the pigeons, which are caught at night by torch-light, on the detached trees where they rest themselves during their migration from the north to the south.

The return of the warriors in spring, when the expedition has proved successful, is a great festival. They repair to their canoes, which they caulk with bear's grease and rosin: the furs, smoked meat, and baggage, are put on board, and the navigators abandon themselves to the currents of the rivers, which are swollen to such a degree that both rapids and cataracts have then disappeared.

On approaching the villages, an Indian, set on shore for the purpose, hastens to apprize the nation. The women, the children, the old men, and such of the warriors as have staid at home, hasten to the river. They hail the fleet with a shout, which is answered in like manner by the hunters. The canoes break their line, range themselves abreast, and present their prows. The hunters leap ashore, and repair to the villages in the order observed at their departure. Each Indian sings his own praise: "It requires a man to attack the bears as I have done; it requires a man to bring home such furs and such provisions in such abundance." The tribes applaud. The women follow, carrying the produce of the expedition.

The skins and the provisions are divided in the public place. The fire of return is kindled, and the strings of the bears' tongues are cast into it: if they are fleshy and crackle much, it is a most favourable omen; if they are dry and burn without noise, the nation is threatened with some calamity.

After the dance of the calumet the last hunting feast is held. It is furnished by a bear brought alive from the forest; the beast is boiled whole, skin, entrails, and all, in an enormous cauldron. No part of the animal must be left, nor must any

of its bones be broken—a Jewish custom—and every drop of the water in which it has been boiled must be drunk. The Savage whose stomach rejects this mess, calls his companions to his assistance. This feast lasts eight or ten hours: the partakers leave it in a deplorable state, and some of them pay with their lives for the horrid pleasure imposed by superstition. The ceremony closes with a speech from a Sachem to the following effect:

"Warriors, the Great Hare has regarded our arrows: ye have shown the intelligence of the beaver, the prudence of the bear, the strength of the bison, the swiftness of the elk. Depart, and spend the moon of fire in fishing and in diversions." This speech finishes with an *Oah!* a religious cry which is thrice repeated.

The animals which furnish the Savages with furs are: the badger, the gray, yellow, and red fox, the pecan, the gopher, the racoon, the gray and white hare, the beaver, the ermine, the marten, the musk-rat, the carcajou or tiger-cat, the otter, the lynx, the polecat, the black, gray, and striped squirrel, the bear, and several species of the wolf.

The skins for tanning are obtained from the elk, the mountain-sheep, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, and the bison.

NOTES.

Page 155, *at bottom of the note.*

" The *Memoirs* in question are much less known than they " deserve to be. I give them at the end of this volume."

Here are these Memoirs:

MEMOIR FIRST.

Bacon, in speaking of antiquities, of dismembered histories, and historical fragments, that have accidentally escaped the ravages of time, compares them to planks which continue afloat after a shipwreck; inasmuch, as active and well-informed men discover, by their careful researches, and by an exact and scrupulous examination of ancient relics, names, words, proverbs, traditions, documents, and individual testimonies, with fragments of history, and passages of books not historical, whereby something may be saved, or recovered from the deluge of time.

The antiquities of our country have always struck me as being more important and worthy of attention than they have been generally held, up to the present day. We have,

it is true, no other written authority, indeed few other sources of information than the works of old French and Dutch authors, whose attention, as is well known, was almost wholly absorbed by the pursuit of riches, or the desire of propagating their religion; while their opinions were modified by reigning prejudices, fixed by theories already framed, controlled by the politics of their sovereigns, and overshadowed by the thick darkness which then still covered the earth.

If, on the other hand, we refer ourselves entirely to the traditions of the Aborigines, for exact and extended information, we shall rest for support upon a reed extremely frail. Whoever has interrogated these people, knows that they are fully as ignorant as the party addressing them; that what they reply is the invention of the moment, and indeed so palpably mixed up with fable, as not to be entitled to the least credit. Destitute of the art of writing, whereby to assist and relieve their memory, those facts really known to them have been, in the course of time, effaced from recollection, or at least confounded with new impressions, and new facts which have developed themselves. If, in the brief space of thirty years, the buccaneers of St. Domingo lost almost every vestige of Christianity, what confidence can we possibly place in oral traditions, communicated to us by savages destitute of the use of letters, and perpetually occupied either in war or the chace?

The field that is open for our research has, then, very contracted limits, but still it is open. Those monuments which remain offer ample matter for investigation. We

might have recourse to the language, to the person, to the customs of the red man, in order to elucidate his origin and his history; and seeing the geology of the country may be successfully employed, in several instances, to illustrate the subject we are engaged on.

Having had sundry opportunities of observing for myself, and making frequent researches, I am led to believe, that the Western part of the United States, before its discovery and occupation by the Europeans, had been inhabited by a populous nation, having fixed dwellings, and being much more advanced in civilization than the existing Indian tribes. Perhaps it would not be hazarding too much, were I to say that the state of this people differed not greatly from that of the Mexicans and Peruvians, when the Spaniards visited them for the first time. In seeking to elucidate the present subject, I shall confine myself to this ground; occasionally, indeed, stretching my regards beyond it, but shunning, as much as possible, any interference with points that have already been discussed.

The township of Pompey, in the county of Onondaga, is situated on the most elevated ground in this country, for it separates the waters which flow into the bay of Chesapeake from those which empty themselves into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The loftier portions of this site present the remains of ancient settlements, and we may recognize, on sundry spots, vestiges of a numerous population. About ten miles to the south of Manliew-Ignare, in the township of Pompey, I have examined the traces of an ancient city. They are indicated very palpably by large plots of black

mould, regularly disposed at small intervals, wherein I have observed the bones of animals, ashes, kidney-beans, (or grains of carbonated maize,) and other articles denoting the residence of human beings. This city must have occupied an extent of at least half a mile from east to west, and three quarters of a mile from north to south, as I was enabled to ascertain with sufficient exactness after my examination: but an individual of well-known veracity has since assured me that its length, from east to west, reaches a mile. Thus, a city which covered upwards of five hundred acres of ground must have contained a population exceeding all our notions of credibility.

About a mile from the east of the settlement, a cemetery is found stretching over from three to four acres, and there is another contiguous, at the western extremity. This town, situated upon high ground, nearly twelve miles from the briny sources of the Onondaga, was well calculated for a place of defence.

On the eastern side, a perpendicular height was bounded by a deep ravine, through which flowed a rivulet; the north side presented a similar boundary. Three forts, eight miles distant from each other, form a triangle encircling the town; one of these is situated a mile to the south of the present village of James-ville, the others in Pompey, to the north-west and south-east. They had probably been erected to cover the city, and protect its inhabitants against any hostile attack. All these forts are either circular or elliptical in form; bones are scattered about their sites; and an ash-tree, found there, was cut down,

the branching of whose roots demonstrated it to have reached nearly one hundred years of age. Upon a heap of burnt ashes, which occupied the site of a large house, I saw a white pine, the circumference of which was eight feet and a half, and whose age must have been at least one hundred and thirty years.

This city had probably been carried by storm from the north side. There were sepulchres both to the right and left, verging on the precipice; and five or six bodies were sometimes thrown pell-mell into the same hole. Had the assailants been repulsed, the inhabitants would doubtless have interred their dead at their accustomed places; but these graves, found near the ravine and within the enclosure of the village, give me reason to believe that the city was taken. On the south side of this ravine have been discovered a steel cannon, several balls, a piece of lead, and a skull pierced by a ball. There have been found, besides, in various parts of the neighbourhood, not only cannons, but also hatchets, hoes, and swords. I myself procured the following articles, which I handed over to the Society, to be incorporated in their collection:—two mutilated steel cannons, two hatchets, a hoe, a bell without a clapper, a piece of another larger bell, a ring, the blade of a sword, a tobacco-pipe, a door-latch, some bits of glass-ware, and several other small matters. All these go to prove communication, in some way with Europe; and after the efforts which were visibly made to render the cannons spoken of useless, by spiking them, it is impossible longer to doubt

that the Europeans formerly established here were defeated and expelled the country by the Indians.

Near the ruins of this town, I have observed a great forest, which heretofore had been open and cultivated ground. I will give you my reasons for holding this opinion. Neither bank nor hillock is found there, which are invariably produced by trees that have either been uprooted, or have fallen through age;—no stumps, no underwood, is perceptible; and the trees looked to me, in general, from fifty to sixty years old. Now, a great many years must necessarily pass before a country covers itself with wood; for it is but slowly that the winds and the birds bear and deposit the seeds. The township of Pompey abounds in forests of a similar nature to that I have alluded to:—some of which are four miles long and two broad. It also possesses a great number of places of sepulture, which I have heard estimated at eighty. If the present white population of this country were abstracted altogether, it might, perhaps, in the course of ages, exhibit peculiarities analogous to those described by me.

There appear to be two distinct eras in our antiquities; one comprising the remains of ancient fortifications and settlements which existed prior to the arrival of Europeans; the other, those referable to the establishments and operations of the Europeans themselves: and as the whites must, in common with the Indians, have frequently had recourse to these primitive fortifications, either for purposes of asylum, of habitation, or the chase, it would inevitably follow

that they would contain several objects manufactured in Europe: it is this circumstance that has given rise to so much confusion, and owing to which, periods extremely remote from each other have been mixed and huddled together.

The French had, most likely, considerable settlements in the territory of the Six Nations. Father Du Creux, of the order of Jesuits, relates, in his "History of Canada," that in the year 1655 the French established a colony in the territory of Onondaga; and he thus describes this country as singularly fertile and interesting.—"Two days after, Father Chaumont was conducted by a numerous party to the spot destined for the establishment and residence of the French: it was distant four leagues from the village where he had first stopped. It would be difficult to find any place better provided by nature; and if the advantages of art were added, as in France and other European countries, it might rival the most favourite spots. An immense prairie is spread on every side of a forest which is situated on somewhat rising ground, and extends itself even to the borders of the lake Ganeta, where the four principal nations of the Iroquois may readily arrive with their canoes, as to the heart of the country, and whence they might, in like manner, issue with the utmost facility, by the different rivers and lakes surrounding the district. The abundance of game equals, here, that of fish: and that nothing may be wanted, turtle-doves arrive in large numbers on the return of spring, and are easily taken with nets. Fish is indeed so plentiful, that the fishermen have been said to take a

thousand eels with the hook in a single night. Two springs of water, distant about a hundred paces from each other, divide this prairie; the one, which is brackish, furnishes plenty of excellent salt, while the other is quite fresh, and highly agreeable to the taste: and, what is not a little remarkable, both issue from the same hill." *

Charlevoix informs us, that in 1654 missionaries were sent to Onondaga, where they constructed a chapel and established a settlement: that a French colony was founded there in 1658, and that the missionaries abandoned the country in 1668. When Lasalle left Canada, in order to descend the Mississipi, in 1679, he discovered, between Lake Huron and Lake Illinois, a large prairie, whereon was formed a settlement that had belonged to the Jesuits.

The traditions of the Indians agree, up to a certain point, with the relations of the French. They affirm that their ancestors sustained several sanguinary conflicts with those strangers, which terminated with the expulsion of the latter, who, driven into their last fort, were obliged to capitulate, and agreed to surrender it and depart, provided they were supplied with provisions. The Indians, hereupon, filled their sacks with ashes, which they covered with maize, and thus the greater part of the unfortunate Frenchmen perished by starvation in a place called, in their language, *Anse de Famine*, and in ours Hungry Bay, situated upon Lake Ontario. A height in the district of Pompey still bears the

* *Historiæ Canadensis, seu Novæ Franciæ, libri decem; auctore P. Francisco Creucio.* Parisiis, 1664, 1 vol. 4to, p. 760.

name of Bloody Hill; and it is singular that the Indians, by whom it was thus named, will never visit it. It is also worthy of remark, that there has never been found in this country any Indian arms, such as stone knives, hatchets, and points of arrows. It would appear that all these things were replaced by others of iron, brought by the French.

The old fortifications were undoubtedly erected before the country had had any relations with Europeans. The Indians are ignorant to whom to ascribe their origin. It is probable that, in the wars which were constantly ravaging the land, they served as fortresses; and no less likely, that here may be found, also, remains of European works, different in construction; in the same way as one sees, in Great Britain, the ruins of Roman and of British fortifications close by the side of each other. Pennant, in his "Travels in Scotland," says: "Upon a hill, near a certain place, there is a British entrenchment, of circular form; and they tell me of others, of square dimensions, which are visible at a few miles distance, and which I believe to be Roman." In his "Travels in Wales," the same writer describes a fortified British post, situated on the summit of a hill, of circular shape, and surrounded by a great ditch and a mound. In the middle of this enclosure, an artificial hill had been raised. This description applies exactly to our old forts. The Danes, like the people who erected our fortifications, were in all probability of Scythian race. According to Pliny, the name of Scythian was indeed common to all those nations who inhabited the north of Europe and of Asia.

In the district of Camillus, situated likewise in the county of Onondaga, four miles from the river Seneca, thirty miles from Lake Ontario, and eighteen from Salina, are two antient forts, on the property of Judge Monro, who has been settled there for the last nineteen years. One of these forts is upon a very high hill, and its site occupies about three acres. There is a door at the east, and another opening at the west, to communicate with a spring distant about 160 feet from the fort, whose form is elliptical. The foss was deep, the eastern wall 10 feet high. In the centre was a large calcareous stone, or irregular figure, which required the strength of two men to lift it: its base was flat, and three feet in length. Its surface presented, according to the opinion of Mr. Monro, certain unknown characters distinctly traced, upon a space of eighteen inches long by three broad. When I visited the spot, however, the stone was no longer to be seen, and all my endeavours to discover it were unavailing. I saw upon the rampart the stump of a black oak-tree 100 years old. Nineteen years ago, relics were visible of two trees still older.

The second fort is nearly half a mile distant, upon lower ground: its construction is similar, but in size it exceeds its neighbour by one half. Near the greater fort may be observed vestiges of an antient road, now covered by trees. I have seen, also, in different parts of this district, upon the higher ground, a chain of swelling stripes of land, extending from the summit of the hills to their feet, and separated by small trenches. This phenomenon presents itself in those very antient settlements where the soil is clayey

and the uplands steep, and is doubtless occasioned by the power which torrents possess, of making and enlarging crevices, or gaps,—an effect that could not be produced whilst the ground was covered with forests, and tending therefore to manifest that it was antiently open, as at present. When we first established ourselves here, the surface of the ground bore the same appearance in this respect as it does now, although covered with wood; and as the trunks of trees are still perceptible in the trenches, it is evident that these swelling stripes, and the little ravines that separate them, cannot have been made *since* the earth was last cleared. The first colonists observed great masses of shells accumulated in different places, together with numerous fragments of earthenware. Mr. Monro, in excavating the cellar of his house, met with several pieces of brick. Here and there were large and deep patches of black mould, indicating the existence of antient buildings of some kind or other. Mr. Monro, observing something that resembled a well,—namely, a hole ten feet deep,—where the earth had been very much dug into, caused it to be examined three feet down, when they arrived at a mass of flints, and beneath them at a great quantity of human bones, which, on exposure to the air, immediately crumbled to ashes. This latter circumstance furnished a strong proof of the demolition of some antient establishment. From the manner in which the dead were buried, it is plain they must have been interred by an invading enemy.

According to tradition, a bloody battle was fought on Boughton's Hill, in the county of Ontario; and I have ob-

served upon that hill patches of black mould, at irregular intervals, separated by yellow clay. The most extreme eastern fortification as yet discovered in this country is near 18 miles from Manlius Square, except perhaps that of Oxford, in the county of Chenango, of which I will speak by-and-bye. In the north, we have lighted upon several until we come to Sandy Creek (14 miles from Saket Harbour,) near which place there is one, the site of which covers 50 acres. This mountain contains numerous fragments of earthenware. Westward, we meet with many of these structures:—there is one in the township of Onondaga, another in Scipio, two near Auburn, three near Canandaiga, and several between the lakes Seneca and Cayaga, wherein three present themselves within a very few miles of one another.

The fort discovered at Oxford is upon the eastern bank of the Chenango, in the middle of the present village, which runs along both sides of that river. A piece of ground measuring between two and three acres is higher, by 30 feet, than the flat country surrounding it. This raised land stretches itself along the bank of the stream to the extent of about 50 rods. The fort was situated at its south-west extremity, and comprehended a surface of three rods: the line was nearly straight by the side of the river, and the bank almost perpendicular.

At each of the extremities, both north and south, which were near the river, a space of 10 feet square was found, where the soil had not been disturbed: here were no doubt entrances or doors, by which the inhabitants of the fort

went in and out, especially in search of water. The enclosure is surrounded, except at those places where the doors stood, by a trench dug with great regularity; and although the ground where the fort is situated was, when the whites began to establish themselves there, as much covered with wood as the rest of the forest, they could nevertheless follow distinctly the lines of the work through the trees, and the distance from the bottom of the trench to the top of the bank, which is, generally, four feet. Here then is a fact evidently proving the antiquity of this fortification. A huge pine has been found here, or rather its dead trunk, which must have been 60 feet high:—when it was cut down, 185 concentric couches might be plainly distinguished in the wood—they were unable to count more, since a great portion of the sap was dried up. This tree was probably from 300 to 400 years old, and beyond all doubt had attained upwards of two centuries. It might have stood 100 years —probably longer—after gaining its full size. It is therefore impossible to determine with any certainty what period may have elapsed from the time the foss was excavated to the first budding of the tree. It is at least manifest, that it stood not in this place when the earth was thrown out of the hole; for it was placed upon the very summit of the bank, whose direction its roots had followed, extending themselves under the ground, and then rising again on the other side, near the surface, and spreading ultimately in an horizontal line.

These works were probably supported by pegs or stakes: but no other vestige of any thing wrought in wood is ap-

parent. The situation was excellent, being particularly healthy, and enlivened by the view of the river both above and below the fort; while the environs presented no heights at a degree of proximity likely to give annoyance to the garrison. No vestiges are apparent either of tools or utensils of any description, except indeed some pieces of rude earthenware resembling the very common sort now in use, and exhibiting ornaments of the roughest kind. The Indians have a tradition, that the tribe of the Antoines (whom they imagine to form part of the Tuscarora nation) descended, to the seventh generation, from the inhabitants of this fort, of whose origin, however, they know nothing.

At Norwich, in the same county, may be seen, also, a place situated upon an elevation on the bank of the river. It is called the Château:—Indians dwelt here at the epoch when we first established ourselves in this country;—several traces of fortifications are distinguishable at this spot; but, judging by appearances, they are far more modern than those of Oxford.

At Ridgway, in the county of Genessy, several antient fortifications and burial-places have likewise been discovered. Nearly six miles from the road or track of the Ridge, and to the south of the Great Mountain, there has been turned up, within from two to three months since, a cemetery wherein were deposited bones of an extraordinary length and thickness. Upon this spot of ground was laid the trunk of a chesnut-tree, which appeared to have four feet diameter at its upper part. The head and branches of this tree had perished of age. The bones spoken of were

piled confusedly one upon another; which circumstance, together with the remains of a fort in the vicinity, induces one to suppose that they were deposited there by the conquerors in some warfare; and the fort being situated in a marsh, gives rise to the notion that it might have been the last refuge of the vanquished, and the marsh possibly inundated at the period.

The grounds set aside for the Indians at Buffaldo present immense glades, for which circumstance the Senecas were unable to account. Their principal settlements were at a considerable distance to the east, until the sale of the greater part of their country, after the termination of the revolutionary war.

Southward of Lake Erie, we meet with a succession of antient forts, extending from the creek of Catteragus to the Pennsylvanian line of demarcation,—namely, a length of fifty miles: some of these are at the distance of two, three, and even four miles, from one another; others less than half a mile apart; and several of them cover each a space of five acres. The ramparts, or entrenchments, are situated on spots of ground where, it would appear, the creeks formerly discharged themselves into the lakes, or rather into those places where there were bays; and hence one may conclude, that these works once stood, in fact, on the very borders of Lake Erie, which is now from two to five miles northward of them. It is said, that further to the south is another chain of forts, which run parallel to the former, and at a similar distance from them as they are from the lake. In this region, the soil presents two different

beds or divisions of earth, in an intermediary alluvion or valley; one (the ground nearest the lake) is the lowest, and if I may so express myself, the secondary division;—whilst the highest, or primary division, is bordered to the south by hills and dales, in which nature wears her ordinary aspect. The primary alluvial ground has been formed by the first retreat of the lake, at the time of which event, it is supposed, the first line of fortifications was erected. In the course of time, the lake retired still further to the north, leaving dry another portion of earth, upon which was placed the other chain of works. The soil differs materially in these two divisions; the lower one is employed for pasturage, the upper is applied to the cultivation of grain: the species of trees found on the two beds varies likewise. The southern bank of the lake Ontario exhibits, in like manner, two alluvial formations—the most ancient of which is to the north of the line of hills, in which direction no forts have hitherto been discovered. I am ignorant whether any have been met with on the other portion of ground. Several, however, present themselves to the south of the above-mentioned line of hills.

It is important, in treating of the geology of our country, to observe, that the two formations of alluvion cited above are, generally speaking, the characteristic types of all the species of earth that border the western waters. The banks of the eastern waters present, with but few exceptions, only one kind of alluvial soil. This circumstance may be attributed to the distance from the ocean of the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississipi, which have, at two dif-

ferent periods, levelled the obstacles and barriers opposed to them; and in thus deepening the beds wherein they flowed, partially drained the more distant streams. These two distinct formations may be regarded in the light of great chronological data. The absence of forts upon both the secondary and primary alluvions of the north shore of Lake Ontario, is a circumstance greatly in favour of the high antiquity of those to the south; for if these had been erected after the first or second retreat of the lake, they would most probably have been placed upon the plot of earth then left dry, as furnishing sites more convenient, and better adapted toward purposes of settlement, either as dwelling-places or points of defence.

The Iroquois, according to their traditions, dwelt formerly to the north of the lakes. On arriving in the country which they at present occupy, they extirpated its existing population. After the establishment of the Europeans in America, the confederates destroyed * the Eries, or Cat-Indians, who resided to the south of Lake Erie. But had the nations possessing our western provinces before the Iroquois built these fortifications for protection against the enemy who came to invade them? or were they constructed by a race still more remote? These are mysteries beyond the penetration of human sagacity. I pretend not to decide whether the Eries, or *their* predecessors, raised these works for the defence of their territory. One thing I flatter myself with having said enough to demonstrate, namely, the

* Toward 1655.

existence of a numerous population, established in cities, defended by forts, practising agriculture, and far more advanced in the arts of civilization than the natives who have been found in this country since its discovery by the Europeans.

Albany, Oct. 7, 1817.

ANCIENT WORKS OF AN UNKNOWN PEOPLE,

FOUND UPON

THE BORDERS OF THE OHIO.

The *Archæologia Americana*, a work which bears also the title of *Transactions of the American Society of Antiquaries*, (printed at Worcester, in Massachusets, 1820, 1 vol. 8vo.) contains several extensive descriptions of the ancient works still existing on the banks of the Ohio, and constructed by a people who had occupied that country before the irruption of the Delaware Indians, or *Leni-Lelaps*, and of the Iroquois, or *Mingoné*, by which tribes they were expelled one or two centuries before the time of Christopher Columbus. Among these monuments antiquarians have been occupied up to the present time; tracing the remains of various edifices, of fortified camps, and of other objects presenting no specific character. Two figures of deities have been found, however, which recall, at first sight, the mythology of Asia.

One of these is an idol with three heads, similar (except in respect of the six hands, which are wanting,) to the figures of the *Trimurti*, or Indian Trinity, such as may be met with in all the collections of Indian monuments. They remind one also of the image of *Triglaff* among the Vendeans. There are upon two of the faces several marks of

tattooing (or painting by incision in the skin), similar to what is seen in the South Sea, and upon the north-west side of America.

The other figure, near to one which is naked, resembles, in its traits and attitude, the images of *Burkhans*, or celestial spirits, such as are found among the Buraites, the Kalmucks, and other Mongolian tribes, and of which Pallas has furnished engravings. The two parallel strokes upon the breast might well be the relics of some Thibet characters.

I might perhaps be borne out in exclaiming, "Here are two monuments which prove the invasion by the Asiatics of Western America!" an invasion which I have inferred from the identity of a certain number of principal words common to languages both of Asia and America. But I conclude nothing as yet, reserving to myself the leisurely discussion of the entire question.

SECOND MEMOIR.

DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT WORKS

FOUND IN THE STATE OF OHIO, AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By CALEB ATWATER.*

Our antiquities have been noticed by a great number of travellers, few of whom ever saw one of them, or who, riding at full speed, had neither the industry, the opportunity, nor the ability to investigate a subject so intricate. They have frequently given to the world such crude and undigested statements, after having visited a few ancient works, or heard the idle tales of persons incompetent to describe them, that intelligent persons residing on the very spot would never suspect what works were intended to be described.

It has somehow happened, that one traveller has seen an ancient work, which was once a place of amusement for those who erected it, and he concludes that none but such were ever found in the whole country. Another in his journey sees a mound of earth, with a semicircular pave-

* *Archæologia Americana*, or *Transactions of the American Society of Antiquaries*. Worcester, in Massachusets, 1820.

ment on the east side of it: at once he proclaims it to the world as his firm belief, that ALL our ancient works were places of devotion, dedicated to the worship of the Sun. A succeeding tourist falls in with an ancient military fortress, and thence infers that ALL our ancient works were raised for military purposes. One person finds something about these works of English origin, and, without hesitation, admits the supposition that they were erected by a colony of Welchmen. Others, again, find articles in and near these ancient works evidently belonging to the Indians, to people of European origin, and to that Scythian race of men who erected all our mounds of earth and stones. They find, too, articles scattered about, and blended together, which belonged not only to different nations, but to different eras of time, remote from each other. They are lost in a labyrinth of doubt. Should the inhabitants of the Western States, together with every written memorial of their existence, be swept from the face of the earth, though the difficulties of future antiquarians would be increased, yet they would be of the same KIND which now beset and overwhelm the superficial observer.

Our Antiquities belong not only to different eras, in point of time, but to several nations; and those articles belonging to the same era and the same people, were intended by their authors to be applied to many different uses.

We shall divide these Antiquities into three classes. First, those belonging to Indians. Second, to people of European origin: and, Third, those of that people who raised our ancient forts and tumuli.

1. Antiquities of Indians of the present race. Those Antiquities which, in the strict sense of the term, belong to the North American Indians, are neither numerous nor very interesting. They consist of rude stone axes and knives, of pestles used in preparing maize for food, of arrow-heads, and a few other articles so exactly similar to those found in all the Atlantic States, that a description of them is deemed quite useless. He who wishes to find traces of Indian settlements, either numerous or worthy of his notice, must visit the shore of the Atlantic, or the banks of the larger rivers emptying themselves into it, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies. The sea spreads out a continual feast before men in a savage state, who, little versed in the arts of civilized life, look upon all pursuits as degrading to their dignity as men, except such as belong either to war or the chase. Having once found the Ocean, there they fix their abode, and never leave it until they are compelled to do so by a dense population, or the overwhelming force of a powerful and victorious foe. Then they follow up the larger streams, where their finny prey abounds in every brook, and the deer, the bear, the elk, the moose, or the buffalo, feeds on every hill. Whatever the earth or water spontaneously produces, they take, and are satisfied. If our Indians came from Asia by the way of Behring's Strait, they would naturally follow down the great chain of our north-western lakes and their outlets, nearly or quite to the sea. This may be one reason why the Indian population, at the time when our ancestors first found them there, was more dense in the Northern than in the Southern, in the

Eastern than in the Western parts of the present United States. That it was so, our own history incontestibly proves. Hence we deduce the reason why the cemeteries of Indians are so large and numerous in the Eastern, and so small and few in the Western States. Hence the numerous other traces of Indian settlements, such as the immense piles of the shells of oysters, clams, &c.; the great number of arrow-heads, and other articles belonging to them in the Eastern States, and their paucity here. There we see the most indubitable evidences of the Indians having resided from very remote ages. Here every thing announces a new race. An Indian's grave may frequently be known by the manner in which he was interred, which was generally in a sitting or an upright posture. Wherever we behold a number of holes in the earth, without any regard to regularity, of about a foot and a half, or two feet in diameter, there, by digging a few feet, we can generally find an Indian's remains. Such graves are most common along the Southern shore of Lake Erie, which was formerly inhabited by the Cat and the Ottoway Indians. Those generally interred with the deceased something of which he had been fond in his life-time: with the warrior, his battle-axe; with the hunter, his bow and arrows, and that kind of wild game of which he had been fondest, or most successful in taking: hence the teeth of the otter are found in the grave of one—those of the bear or beaver in that of another. The skeleton of a turkey is discovered in some—in others, muscle-shells, or fishes' bones.

II. *Antiquities belonging to people of European origin.*

Although this division of my subject may excite a smile, when it is recollected that three centuries have not yet elapsed since this country has been visited by Europeans, yet as articles derived from an intercourse which has been kept up for more than one hundred and fifty years past, between the Aborigines and several European nations, are sometimes found here; and as these articles, thus derived, are frequently blended with those really very ancient, I beg leave to retain this division of antiquities. The French were the first Europeans who traversed the territory included within the limits of the present State of Ohio. At exactly what time they *first* frequented these parts, and especially Lake Erie, I have not been able to ascertain; but from authentic documents, published at Paris in the 17th century,* we do know that they had large establishments in the territory belonging to the Six Nations as early at least as 1655.

Charlevoix, in his History of New France, informs us that missionaries were sent to Onondaga in 1654: that they built a chapel, and made a settlement; that a French colony was established there under the auspices of Le Sieur Depuys, in 1656, and retired in 1658. When La Salle started from Canada, and went down the Mississipi, in 1679, he discovered a large plain between the lake of the Hurons and the Illinois, in which was a fine settlement belonging to the Jesuits.

* *Historiæ Canadensis, sive Novæ Franciæ libri decem ad annum usque Christi* 1661; by the French Jesuit Creusius.

From this time forward the French are known to have traversed that part of this state which borders on Lake Erie and the Ohio river, and the larger streams which are their tributaries. Like other Europeans of that period, they took possession of the countries which they visited, in the name of their sovereign, sang a *Te Deum*, and solemnised the remembrance of the event by some ceremonial—such as, affixing the arms of France to a tree, depositing a medal in some remarkable cave, tumulus, or ancient fort, or casting it into the mouth of a river.

A medal was found, several years since, in the mouth of the Muskingum river, by the late Hon. Jehiel Gregory. It was a thin round plate of lead, several inches in diameter; on one side of which, I was informed by Judge Gregory, was the French name of the river wherein it lay, "*Petite-Belle-Riviere*," and on the other "Louis XIV."

Near Portsmouth, a flourishing town at the mouth of the Scioto, a masonic medal was found, buried in alluvial earth, representing, on one side, a human heart with a sprig of cassia growing out of it, while on the other side was a temple, with a cupola and spire, at the summit whereof was a half-moon; a star was in front of the temple.

At Trumbull have been discovered some coins of George II., and in the county of Harrison others of one of the Charleses.

Near the mouth of Darby Creek, not far from Circleville, I have been credibly informed that a Spanish medal was found, several years since, in a very good state of pre-

servation, from which we learn, that it was given by a Spanish Admiral to some person under the command of De Soto, who landed in Florida in 1538. There seems to me to be no great difficulty in accounting for such a medal being found here, near a water which runs into the Gulf of Mexico, even at such a distance from Florida, when it is recollected that a party of De Soto's men (an exploring company which he sent out to reconnoitre the country) never returned to him, nor were heard of afterward. This medal might have been brought, and lost where it was found, by the person to whom it had been given, or by some Indian.

Swords, gun-barrels, knives, pickaxes, and implements of war, are often found along the banks of the Ohio, which had been left there by the French when they had forts at Pittsburgh, Ligonier, St. Vincent's, &c.

The traces of a furnace of fifty kettles, said to exist in Kentucky, a few miles, in a southern direction, from Portsmouth, appear to me to belong to the same era, and owe their origin to the same people.

Several Roman coins, said to have been found in a cave near Nashville, in Tennessee, bearing date not many centuries after the Christian era, have excited some interest among antiquarians. They were either discovered where the finder had purposely lost them, or, what is more probable, had been left there by some European, since this country was traversed by the French.

In a word, I will venture to assert, that there never has been found a medal, coin, or monument, in all North Ame-

rica, which had on it one or more letters belonging to any alphabet now or ever in use among men of any age or country, that did not belong to Europeans or their descendants, and had been brought or made here since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

III. *Antiquities of the people who formerly inhabited the western parts of the United States.*

It is time to consider the third, last, and most highly interesting class of antiquities, which comprehends those belonging to that people who erected our ancient forts and tumuli; those military works whose walls and ditches cost so much labour in their structure; those numerous and sometimes lofty mounds, which owe their origin to a people far more civilized than our Indians, though far less so than Europeans. These works are interesting on many accounts to the antiquarian, the philosopher, and the divine; especially when we consider the immense extent of country which they cover; the great labour which they cost their authors; the acquaintance with the useful arts which that people had, when compared with our present race of Indians; the grandeur of many of the works themselves; the total absence of all historical records, or even traditionary accounts respecting them; the great interest which the learned have taken in them; the contradictory and erroneous accounts which have generally been given of them; to which we may add, the destruction of them which is going on in almost every place where they are found in the

whole country, have jointly contributed to induce me to bestow no inconsiderable share of attention to this class of antiquities so much talked about and so little understood.

These antient works are spread over an immense extent of country in Europe and the northern parts of Asia. They may be traced from Wales to Scotland on the island of Britain; they are found in Ireland, in Normandy, in France, in Sweden, and quite across the Russian empire to our continent. In Africa, we see pyramids which derive their origin from the same source. In India, and throughout all Palestine, works similar to ours exist. In Tartary they abound in all the steppes (desert plains).

On the south side of Ontario, one not far from Black River is the farthest, in a north-eastern direction, on this continent. One on the Chenango river, at Oxford, is the farthest south, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies. These works are small, very ancient, and appear to mark the utmost extent of the settlement of the people who erected them in that direction. Coming from Asia, finding our great lakes, and following them down thus far, were they driven back by the ancestors of our Indians? and, were the small forts above alluded to, built in order to protect them from the Aborigines who had before that time settled along the Atlantic coast? In travelling toward Lake Erie, in a western direction from the works above mentioned, a few are occasionally found, especially in Genesee country; but they *are* few and small, until we arrive at the mouth of Catarangus creek, a water of Lake Erie, in Catarangus county, in the state of New York, where Gover-

nor Clinton, in his "Memoir," &c. says a line of forts commences, extending south upwards of fifty miles, and not more than four or five miles apart. There is said to be another line of them parallel to these, which generally contain a few acres of ground only, whose walls are but a few feet in height. For an able account of the antiquities in the western parts of New York, we must again refer to Governor Clinton's Memoir, not wishing to repeat what he has so well said.

If the works already alluded to are real forts, they must have been built by a people few in number, and quite rude in the arts of life. Travelling towards the south-west, these works are frequently seen, but, like those already mentioned, they are comparatively small until we arrive on the Licking, near Newark, where are some of the most extensive and intricate, as well as interesting, of any in this State, perhaps in the world. Leaving these, and still proceeding in a south-western direction, we find some very extensive ones at Circleville. At Chillicothe there were some, but the destroying hand of man has despoiled them of their contents, and entirely removed them. On Paint Creek are some, far exceeding all others in some respects, where probably was once an ancient city of great extent. At the mouth of the Scioto are some very extensive ones, as well as at the mouth of the Muskingum. In fine, these works are thickly scattered over the vast plain from the southern shore of Lake Erie to the Mexican Gulf, increasing in number, size, and grandeur, as we proceed toward the south. They may be traced around the Gulph, across

the province of Texas into New Mexico, and all the way into South America. They abound most in the vicinity of good streams, and are never, or rarely, found except in a fertile soil. They are not found in the prairies of Ohio, and seldom in the barrens, and there they are small, and situated on the edge of them, and on dry ground. From the Black River country in New York to this State, I need say no more concerning them; but at Salem, Ashtabula county, there is one on a hill which merits a few words, though it is a small one compared with others farther south. The work at Salem is on a hill near Connaught river, and about three miles from Lake Erie. It is round, having two parallel circular walls, and a ditch between them. Through these walls, leading into the enclosure, are a gateway and a road, exactly like a modern turnpike, descending the hill toward the stream by such a gradual slope, that a team with a waggon might easily either ascend or descend it, and there is no other place by which these works could be approached without considerable difficulty. Within the bounds of this ancient enclosure, the trees which grew there were such as denote the richest soil in this country; while those growing on the outside of these ruins were such as denote the poorest.

On the surface of the earth, within this circular work, and immediately below it, pebbles rounded, and having their angles worn off in water (such as are now seen on the present shore of the Lake) are found: but they are represented as bearing visible marks of having been burned in a hot fire. Bits of earthenware, of a coarse kind and rude

structure, without glazing, are found here on the surface, and a few inches below it. This ware is represented to me as having been manufactured of sand-stone and clay. My informant says, within this work are sometimes found skeletons of men of small stature, which, if true, sufficiently identifies it to have belonged to that race who erected our tumuli. The vegetable mould covering the surface within the works, is at least ten inches in depth. In these same works have been found articles evidently belonging to Indians, of their own manufacture, as well as others which they had derived from their intercourse with Europeans and their descendants. I mention the fact thus particularly, in order to save the repetition of it in describing nearly every mark of this kind, especially along the shore of Lake Erie, and the banks of larger rivers. Indian antiquities are always either on, or a very small distance below the surface, unless buried in some grave: whilst articles evidently belonging to that people who raised our mounds are frequently found many feet below the surface, especially in river bottoms.

Still proceeding in a south-western direction, there are, at different places, small ancient works: but their walls are only a few feet in height, encompassing generally but a few acres, with ditches of no great depth, evidently showing the population to have been inconsiderable.

I have been informed, that in the north part of Medina county (Ohio) there are some works, near one of which a piece of marble, well polished, was lately found. It might have been a composition of clay and sulphate of lime, or

plaster of Paris, such as I have often seen in and about ancient works along the Ohio river. A common observer would mistake the one for the other, which I am disposed to believe was the case here.

Ancient Works near Newark.

Proceeding still to the southward, the ancient works become more and more numerous, more intricate, and of greater size; denoting the increase of their authors in number, strength, and acquaintance with the art of constructing them. Among the most interesting are those on two branches of the Licking, near Newark.

No 1. is a fort containing about 40 acres within its walls, which are generally about 10 feet high. Leading into this fort are 8 openings, or gateways, about 15 feet in width; in front of which is a small mound of earth, in height and thickness resembling the outer wall. These small mounds are 4 feet longer than the gateway is wide; otherwise, they look as if the wall had been moved into the fort 8 or 10 feet. They were probably intended for the defence of the gates opposite.—The earthen walls of this work are taken from the surface so carefully and uniformly, that it cannot now be discovered from what spot. They are as nearly perpendicular as the earth could be made to lie.

No 2. is a circular fort, containing 22 acres, and connected with the former by two parallel walls of earth, of about the same height, &c. as those of No 1.

No 3. An observatory, built partly of earth, partly of stone. It commanded a full view of a considerable part, if

not all, the plain on which these ancient works stand, and would do so now, were the thick growth of ancient forest trees which clothe this tract cleared away. Under this observatory was a passage, probably a secret one, to the water-course which once ran near this spot, but has since moved farther off.

No 4. Another round fort, containing about 26 acres, having a wall around it, which was thrown out of a deep ditch on the inner side of the wall. This wall is now from 25 to 30 feet in height; and when I was there the ditch was half filled with water, especially on the side toward a pond.*

No 5. is a square fort, containing 20 acres, with walls similar to those of the first-mentioned.

No 6. The interval, or alluvion, made by the Racoon and south fork of Licking River. When these works were occupied, there is reason to believe that these streams washed the foot of this hill; and as one proof of it, passages of easy ascent and descent conduct to the water.

No 7. An antient bank of the creeks, which have worn their channels considerably deeper than they were when they washed the foot of this hill. These works stand on a large plain, elevated 40 or 50 feet above No 6, almost perfectly flat, and as rich a piece of land as can be found in any country. The watch-towers were placed at the ends of parallel walls, upon ground as elevated as could be met

* This pond, covering from 150 to 200 acres, was a few years since so entirely dry, that a crop of Indian corn was raised where the water is now 10 feet in depth, and appears still to be rising. This pond sometimes reaches to the very walls of the fort, and to the parallel walls.

with on this extended plain. They were surrounded by circular walls, now only four or five feet high.

No 8. Two parallel walls, leading probably to other works.

The high ground near Newark appears to have been the place, and the only one which I saw, where the antient occupants of these works buried their dead, and even these tumuli appeared to me to be small. Unless others are found in the vicinity, I should conclude that the original owners, though very numerous, did not reside here during any great length of time. I should not be surprized if these parallel walls are found to extend from one work of defence to another, for the space of thirty miles — all the way across to the Hockhocking, at some point a few miles north of Lancaster. Such walls having been discovered at different places, probably belonging to these works, for ten or twelve miles at least, leads me to suspect that the works on Licking were erected by people connected with those who lived on the Hockhocking river, and that their road between the two settlements was between these parallel walls.

If I might be allowed to conjecture the use to which these works were originally put, I should say that the larger works were really military ones of defence; that their authors lived within the walls; that the parallel walls were intended for the double purpose of protecting persons in times of danger from being assaulted while passing from one work to another, and of serving as fences to enclose their fields.

The hearths, burnt charcoal, cinders, wood, ashes, &c. which were formerly found in all similar places that are now cultivated, have not been discovered here, this plain being probably an uncultivated forest: but I found here several arrow-heads.

The care which is everywhere visible about these ruins to protect every part from a foe without; the high plain whereon they are situated, which is generally forty feet above the country around; the pains taken to get at the water, as well as to protect those who wished to obtain it; the fertile soil, which appears to me to have been cultivated; — are circumstances not to be overlooked, and which speak volumes in favour of the sagacity of their authors.

A few miles below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are several very deep holes, called, in popular language wells, but which were certainly not dug for the purpose of procuring water, either salt or fresh.

There are at least a thousand of these wells, many of which are now upward of twenty feet in depth. A good deal of curiosity has been excited as to the objects sought for by the people who dug these holes: one gentleman nearly ruined himself by digging in and about them in quest of the precious metals! I have been at the pains to obtain specimens of all the minerals in and near these wells. They have not, every one, been put to proper tests; but I can say, that rock crystals (some of them very beautiful), and horn stone (suitable for arrow and spear heads), with a little lead, sulphur, and iron, was all I could make out correctly: and it is highly probable, that these holes were dug

for the purpose of procuring the articles enumerated, doubtless held precious by the excavators. It is possible they might also have procured some lead here, though no portions of that metal have been discovered.

Ancient Works in Perry County.

Southwardly from the great works on the Licking, four or five miles in a north-western direction from Somerset, is found an ancient work of stone.

A stone mound near the centre thereof is in form of a sugar-loaf, and from twelve to fifteen feet high. There is a smaller circular stone tumulus standing in the wall which encloses the work.

A large and high rock lies in front of an opening in the outer wall. This opening is a passage between two large rocks, which lie in the wall, of from seven to ten feet in width. These rocks, on the outside, present a perpendicular front of ten feet in altitude, but after extending fifty yards into the enclosure, they enter the earth and disappear. —There is a gateway.

There remains also a small work, whose area is half an acre: the walls are of earth, and a few feet only in height.

This large stone-work contains within its walls forty acres and upward. The "walls" consist of rude fragments of rocks, without the marks of any iron tool upon them. These stones lie in the utmost disorder; and if laid up in a regular wall, would make one seven feet, or seven feet six inches in height, and from four to six feet in thickness. I do not believe this ever to have been a military work, either

of offence or defence: but, if a military work, it must have been a temporary camp. From the circumstance of its containing two stone tumuli, such as were used, in ancient times, as altars, or as monuments for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of some great era or important event in the history of those who raised them, I should rather suspect this to have been a sacred enclosure, or high place where the people celebrated, at certain epochs, some solemn feast. It is on high ground, and destitute of water, and consequently could not have been a place of habitation for any length of time.

Ancient Works at Marietta.

Proceeding down the Muskingum to its mouth at Marietta, are some most extraordinary ancient works, which have been described by various writers. I have collected, from all the public sources I could command, different facts respecting these works, and incorporated some information communicated by intelligent friends.

These works occupy a plain elevated above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, and about half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms.

The largest square fort, by some called "the Town," contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth, from six to ten feet high, and twenty-five to thirty-six feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The entrances at

the middle are the largest, particularly on the side next to the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covert way, formed of two parallel walls of earth 231 feet distant from each other, measuring from centre to centre. The walls at the most elevated part, on the inside, are twenty-one feet high, and forty-two broad at the base, but on the outside average only five feet high. This forms a passage of about 360 feet in length, leading by a gradual descent to the low grounds, where, at the time of its construction, it probably reached the river. Its walls commence at sixty feet from the ramparts of the fort, and increase in elevation as the way descends toward the river; and the bottom is crowned in the centre, in the manner of a well-founded turnpike-road.

Within the walls of the fort, at the north-west corner, is an oblong elevated square, 188 feet long, 132 broad, and nine feet high:—level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the centre of each of the sides the earth is projected, forming gradual ascents to the top, equally regular, and about six feet in width. Near the south wall is another elevated square, 150 feet by 120, and eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that, instead of an ascent to go up on the side next the wall, there is a hollow way ten feet wide, leading twenty feet toward the centre, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. At the south-east corner is a third elevated square, 108 feet by 54, with ascents at the ends, but neither so high nor perfect as the two others. A little to the south-west of the centre of the fort is a circular mound, about thirty feet in diameter and five feet high, near which are four small excavations at

at equal distances, and opposite each other. At the south-west corner of the fort is a semicircular parapet, crowned with a mound, which guards the opening in the wall. Toward the south-east is a smaller fort, containing 20 acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side, and at each corner. These gateways are defended by circular mounds.

On the outside of the smaller fort is a mound, in form of a sugarloaf, of a magnitude and height which strike the beholder with astonishment. Its base is a regular circle, 115 feet in diameter: its perpendicular altitude 30 feet. It is surrounded by a ditch 4 feet deep, and 15 feet wide, and defended by a parapet 4 feet high, through which is a gateway toward the fort, 20 feet in width. There are other walls, mounds, and excavations, less conspicuous and entire.

The principal excavation, or well, is as much as 60 feet in diameter at the surface; and when the settlement was first made, it was at least 20 feet deep. It is at present 12 or 14 feet, but has been filled up a great deal from the washing of the sides by frequent rains. It was originally of the kind formed in the earliest days, when the water was brought up by hand in pitchers, or other vessels, by steps formed in the sides of the well.

The pond, or reservoir, near the north-west corner of the large fort, was about 25 feet in diameter, and the sides raised above the level of the adjoining surface by an embankment of earth 3 or 4 feet high. This was nearly full of water at the first settlement of the town throughout all seasons of the year, and continued so until lately. When the ground near the well was cleared, a great many logs

that lay nigh were rolled into it, to save the trouble of piling and burning them. These, with the annual deposit of leaves, &c. for ages, had nearly filled the well; but still the water rose to the surface, and presented the appearance of a stagnant pool. Last winter the owner of the well undertook to drain it, by cutting a ditch from the well into the *small covert way;* and he has dug to the depth of about 12 feet, and having let the water off to that distance, finds the sides of the reservoir not perpendicular, but projecting gradually toward the centre of the well, in the form of an inverted cone, being lined with a stratum of very fine ash-coloured clay, 8 or 10 inches thick. If it were actually a well, it probably contains many curious articles which belonged to the ancient inhabitants.

On the outside of the parapet, near the oblong square, I picked up a considerable number of fragments of ancient potter's ware. This ware is ornamented with lines, some of them quite curious and ingenious, on the outside. It is composed of clay and fine gravel, and has a partial glazing on the inside. It seems to have been burnt, and capable of holding liquids. The fragments, on breaking them, look quite black, with brilliant particles appearing as you hold them to the light. The ware which I have found near the rivers is composed of shells and clay, and not near so hard as this found on the plain. Several pieces of copper have been discovered at various times; one, from the description I had of it, in the form of a cup.

Mr. Dana has lately found, at Waterford, not far from the bank of the Muskingum, a magazine of spears and

arrow-heads. They lay in one body, occupying a space of about 8 inches in width and 18 in length, and at one end about a foot from the surface of the earth, and 18 inches at the other, as though they had been buried in a box, one end of which had sunk deeper in the ground than the other. They appear never to have been used, and are of various lengths, from 6 to 2 inches: they have no shanks, but are in the shape of a triangle with two long sides.

It is worthy of remark, that the walls and mounds were not thrown up from ditches, but raised by bringing the earth from a distance, or taking it up uniformly from the plain; resembling, in that respect, most of the ancient works at Licking, already described. It has excited some surprise that the tools have not been discovered here with which these works were constructed; but it seems not to have been recollected that shovels made of wood might have answered every purpose.

Ancient Works at Circleville, Ohio.

Some 26 miles south of Columbus, and not far from the junction of Hargus's Creek with the Scioto, are two forts, one forming an exact circle, the other an exact square. The former is surrounded by two walls, with a deep ditch between: the latter is encompassed by one wall, without any ditch. The former was 69 feet in diameter, measuring from outside to outside of the circular outer wall; the latter is precisely 55 rods square, measuring the same way. The walls of the circular fort were at least 20 feet high, measuring from the bottom of the ditch, before the town of

Circleville was built. The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where was a low place, still considerably lower than any other part of the work. The outside wall was taken from the alluvial ditch between these walls, which consists of pebbles worn smooth in water, and of sand, to a very considerable depth, more than 50 feet at least. The outside of the wall is now about 5 or 6 feet high; on the inside, the ditch is at present generally not more than 15 feet. These relics are daily disappearing from before us, and will soon be gone. The walls of the square fort are, at this time (where left standing), about 10 feet high; there were eight gateways or openings leading into the square fort, and only one into the circular fort. Before each of these openings are mounds of earth, for two rods or more, exactly in front of the gateways, which were evidently intended as defences.

As this work was a perfect square, so the gateways and their watch-towers were equidistant. These mounds were in a perfectly straight line, and exactly parallel with the wall.

There was once a very remarkable ancient mound of earth, with a semicircular pavement on its eastern side, nearly fronting the only gateway leading into the fort. This mound is entirely removed; but the outline of the semicircular pavement may still be seen in many places, notwithstanding the dilapidations of time and those occasioned by the hand of man.

A square fort joined the circular one, the area whereof has been already stated. The wall surrounding this work

is generally now about ten feet high. There are seven gateways leading into this fort, besides the one communicating with the square fortification; that is, one at each angle, and another in the wall just half-way between the angular ones. Before each of these gateways was a mound of earth, four or five feet high, intended for the defence of the openings.

The extreme care of the authors of these works to protect and defend every part of the circle is no where visible about this square fort. The former is defended by two high walls; the latter by one. The former has a deep ditch encircling it; this has none. The former could be entered at one place only; this at eight, and those about twenty feet broad. The streets of the present town of Circleville cover all the round and the western half of the square fort. These fortifications, where the town stands, will in a few years entirely disappear.

What surprised me, on measuring the forts, was the exact manner in which their circle and square had been laid down; let those who affect to believe these antiquities were raised by the ancestors of the present race of Indians consider this circumstance. The walls of this work vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west: but not more than the needle varies; and not a few surveyors have been hence impressed with a belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy.

Ancient Works on the Main Branch of Paint Creek, Ohio.

The nearest of these are situated about eleven, and the furthest fifteen miles, westwardly from the town of Chillicothe.

The one of these works wherewith we shall begin has numerous gateways, from eight to twenty feet wide. The walls are generally about ten feet high at this time, and rise to that height immediately at the gateways. These walls are composed of the common soil, which seems to have been taken up from no particular spot, but uniformly from near the surface. That part of this work which is square has eight gateways: the sides of the square are sixty-six roods in length, containing an area of twenty-seven acres 2-10^{ths}. This part of the work has three gateways, connecting it with the larger one, one of which is between two parallel walls about four feet high. A small rivulet, rising toward the south-west side of the larger part of the largest work, runs into the wall, and sinks into the earth. Some persons suppose this sink-hole to have been, originally, a work of art. It is fifteen feet deep and thirty-nine across at the surface. There are two mounds, one within, another just outside this work; the latter is twenty feet high at this time.

Other works are contiguous: one, of square form, contains exactly the same area with the square one described above. There is no mound within its walls, but there is one about ten feet high nearly a hundred roods to the west

of it. The large irregular part of the larger work contains seventy-seven acres, in the walls of which are eight gateways, besides those two leading into the square, as described. These gateways are from one to six rods in width, differing in that respect very much one from another.

Connected by a gateway with this large work, is another in the north-west, sixty poles in diameter. In the centre is another circle, whose walls are now about four feet high, and this lesser circle is six roods in diameter. There are three ancient walls, one on the inside, the others on the outside of the wall. Within the large work of irregular form are two elliptical elevations. The largest is near the centre; its elevation is twenty-five feet; its longest diameter is twenty rods. This work is composed chiefly of stones in their natural state, which must have been brought either from the bed of the creek, or from the hill. This elevated work is full of human bones; and some have not hesitated to express a belief that human beings were once sacrificed upon it.

The other elliptical work has two stages; one end of it is only about eight feet high, the other end fifteen. The surfaces of both are smooth. Such works are not so common here as on the Mississipi, and they are more frequently met with in Mexico, still further south.

There is a work in form of a half-moon, set round the edges with stones, such as are now found about a mile from the spot whence they were probably brought. Near this semicircular work is a very singular mound, 5 feet high, 30 in diameter, and composed entirely of red ochre, answer-

ing very well as a paint, and abundance of which is found on a hill at no great distance.

The wells already mentioned may be thus described. They are very broad at top—one of them six rods, another four: the former is now 15 feet deep, the latter 10; there is water in them. Near the limestone road are several such.

A third and very remarkable work is situated on a high hill, believed to be upwards of 300 feet high, and in many places almost perpendicular. The walls consist of stones in their natural state, and were built upon the very brow of the hill almost round. It had originally two gateways, at the only places where roads could be made to the interval below. At the northern gateway, stones enough now lie to have built two considerable round towers. From thence to the creek is a natural, and was perhaps once an artificial road, the stones whereof lie scattered about in confusion, and would suffice in quantity to have furnished materials for a wall 4 feet thick and 10 feet high. On the inside of the wall, there appears to have been a row of furnaces, or smith's shops, where the cinders now lie many feet in depth. This wall incloses an area of 130 acres. It was one of the strongest places in this State.

The courses of the wall correspond with those of the very brow of the hill; and the quantity of stones is greatest on each side of the gateways, and in any turn in the course of the wall, — as if towers and battlements had been here erected. If "sacred enclosures" were among these structures, this was the strong military work which defended them. No military man could have selected a better posi-

tion as a place of protection to his countrymen, their temples, their altars, and gods.

In the bed of Paint Creek, which washes the foot of the hill, are four wells worthy of notice. They were dug through a pyritous slate rock, which is very rich in iron ore. When first discovered, by a person passing over them in a canoe, they were each covered over by a stone of about the size and very much in the shape of the common millstone now in use in our grist-mills. These covers had holes through their centre, of about four inches diameter, through which a large pry or handspike might be put, for the purpose of removing them off and on. The wells were at top more than three feet diameter, and stones well wrought (so as to make good joints) were laid around.

I had a good opportunity to examine these wells, the stream in which they are sunk being very low. The covers are now broken to pieces, and the wells filled with pebbles. That they are works of art is beyond a doubt; but for what purpose they were dug has been a question among those who have visited them, as the wells themselves are in the stream. The bed of the creek was not here, in all probability, when these were sunk. These wells, with stones at their mouths, resemble those described to us in the patriarchal ages. Were they not dug in those days?

There is likewise a circular work containing between seven and eight acres, whose walls are not now more than ten feet high, surrounded with a ditch, except at one place, perhaps four roods broad, where there is an opening much resembling a modern turnpike-road, leading down into the

interval land adjoining the creek. At the end of the ditch, adjoining the wall on each side of this road, is a spring of very good water. Down to the largest one is the appearance of an antient road. These springs were dug down considerably, or rather the earth where they now rise, by the hand of man.

General William Vance's dwelling-house now occupies this gateway, and his orchard the "sacred enclosure."

Ancient Works at Portsmouth, Ohio.

Descending the Scioto to its mouth, at Portsmouth, we find an antient work, which, I doubt not, was a military one of defence, situated on the Kentucky shore, nearly opposite the town of Alexandria. The importance of this place, it seems, was duly appreciated by the people who "in olden time" resided here.

On the Kentucky side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Scioto river, is a large fort, with an elevated large mound of earth, near its south-western outside angle, and parallel walls of earth. The eastern parallel walls have a gateway leading down a high steep bank of a river to the water. They are about ten rods asunder, and from four to six feet in height at this time, and connected with the fort by a gateway. Two small rivulets have worn themselves channels quite through these walls, from ten to twenty feet in depth, since they were deserted, from which their antiquity may be inferred.

The fort is nearly a square, with five gateways, whose walls of earth are now from fourteen to twenty feet in height.

From the gateway at the north-west corner of this fort commence two parallel walls of earth, extending nearly to the Ohio, in a bend of that river, where, in some low ground near the bank, they disappear. The river seems to have moved its bed a little since these walls were thrown up. A large elevated mound is at the south-west corner of the fort, on the outside of the fortification. It appears not to have been used as a place of sepulture; it is too long to have belonged to that class of antiquities. It is a large work, raised perhaps twenty feet or more, very level on its surface; and I should suppose contains half an acre of ground. It seems to me to have been designed for uses similar to the elevated squares at Marietta. Between these works and the Ohio is a body of fine interval land, which was nearly enclosed by them, aided by the river, and a creek, which has high perpendicular banks. Buried in the walls of this fort have been found and taken out large quantities of iron, mauufactured into pickaxes, shovels, gun-barrels, and evidently secreted there by the French, when they fled from the victorious and combined forces of England and America, at the time Fort Duquesne, afterwards Fort Pitt, was taken from them. Excavations made in quest of these hidden treasures are to be seen on these walls, and in many other places near them.

Several of their graves have been opened, and articles found which leave no doubt on my mind as to their authors, nor any great doubt as to the time when they were deposited here.

On the north side of the river are works still more exten-

sive than these, more intricate, and of course more impressive.

Commencing in the low ground, near the present bank of the Scioto river (which seems to have changed a little since these works were raised), are two parallel walls of earth quite similar to those already described, on the other side of the Ohio, as to their height and their being composed of earth taken up uniformly from the surface, so as not to leave any traces by which we perceive from whence it was taken. This was probably owing to the rudeness of the tools used in constructing these walls. From the bank of the Scioto they lead eastwardly for a considerable distance, continuing about eight or ten rods apart, when suddenly they widen at a short distance to the east of the dwelling-house of J. Brown, Esq., and continue about twenty rods apart, with a curve toward the elevated ground, which they ascend. This hill is very steep, and forty or fifty feet high; after rising which, we again find level land, and a fine rich, but ancient, alluvion of the Ohio. Here, near a curve in the parallel walls, is a well on the brow of the hill, at this time twenty-five feet perhaps in depth; but, from the immense quantity of rounded pebbles and sand of which the earth here consists, after passing through the deep black vegetable mould on the surface, we are involuntarily led to believe that this well was one quite deep enough to have its bottom on a level with the surface of the river, even at a low time of water in that stream.

There exist remains of three circular tumuli elevated about six feet above the adjacent plain, and each of them

contains nearly an acre. Not far from these is a similar work, still higher; so high, indeed, that it was necessary to throw up a way resembling a modern turnpike, in order to ascend it. This work is now more than twenty feet in perpendicular height, and contains nearly one acre of ground. This elevated circular work, with raised walks to ascend and descend to and from its elevated area, was not used as a cemetery. Not far from it, however, there is one —a conical mound of earth brought to a point at its apex, at least twenty-five feet high, filled with the mouldering ashes of the people who constructed these works. In a north-western direction is a similar one, just begun. It is surrounded by a ditch about six feet deep, and has a hole in the centre. Two other wells which are now ten or twelve feet in depth, appear to me to have been dug for water, and are similar to that already described. Near these is a wall of earth, raised so high that a spectator standing on its summit may have a fnll view of whatever passes. This last work is easily ascended at each end.

From these extensive works on this "high place" are two parallel walls of earth leading to the margin of the Ohio, which are about two miles in length, and from six to ten feet high. They are lost in the low ground near the river, which appears to have moved from them since they were constructed. Between these walls and the Ohio is as fine a body of interval land as any along the valley of this beautiful stream; quite sufficient, if well cultivated, to support a considerable population. The surface of the earth between all the parallel walls is quite smooth (apparently

made so by art), and was used as a road by those coming down either of the rivers, for the purpose of ascending to the "High Place" situated upon the hill. The walls might have served as fences also, to enclose the interval, which was probably cultivated.

On the low land I saw but one mound, a cemetery, not very large, and which appears to have belonged to the common people, probably those who resided near it on the plain.

Ancient Works on the Little Miami River.

These fortifications, of which many travellers have spoken, stand on a plain nearly horizontal, about 236 feet above the level of the river, between two branches with very steep and deep banks. The openings in the walls are the gateways. The plain extends eastward along the state road. nearly level, about half a mile. The fortification on all sides, except on the east and west where the road runs, is surrounded with precipices nearly in the shape of the wall. The wall on the inside varies in its height according to the shape of the ground on the outside, being generally from eight to ten feet. But on the plain it is about nineteen feet and a half high inside and out, on a base of four and a half poles. In a few places it appears to be washed away in gutters, made by water collecting on the inside.

At about twenty poles east from the gate, through which the state road runs, are two mounds about 10 feet 8 inches high, the road running between them nearly equidistant from each. From these mounds are gutters running nearly

north and south, apparently artificial, and made to communicate with the branches on each side. North-east from the mounds, on the plain, are two roads, each about one pole wide, elevated some three feet, running nearly parallel about a quarter of a mile, and then forming an irregular semicircle round a small mound. Near the south-west end of the fortification are three circular roads (between thirty and forty poles in length) cut out of the precipice between the wall and the river. The wall is made of earth. Many conjectures have been made as to the design of the authors in erecting a work with no less than fifty-eight gateways. Several of these openings have evidently been occasioned by the water, which had been collected on the inside until it overflowed the walls and wore itself a passage. In several other places the walls might never have been completed.

Some persons, from the shape of these works, have even believed that the authors intended to represent by them the continents of North and South America! But the walls follow exactly the brow of the hill, and the works are built to suit the position of the ground where it is hilly and precipitous, where it is not so, the walls suddenly rise to a far greater height.

The three parallel roads dug, at a great expence of labour, into the rocks and rocky soil adjacent and parallel to the Little Miami river, appear to have been designed for persons to stand on who wished to annoy those passing up and down the river. The Indians, as I have been informed, made this use of them in their wars with each other and

with the whites. Whether all these works belong to the same era and the same people (as is generally imagined) I cannot pretend to say.

With regard to those roads found here so greatly resembling our modern turnpikes, if they were made for foot-races, the mounds were probably the goals from whence the pedestrians started, or around which they ran. The area enclosed by the parallel walls, smoothed by art, might have been the place where games were celebrated. We cannot affirm this;—but we know that similar works were thus used among the early inhabitants of Greece and Rome.

In his Picture of Cincinnati, Dr. Daniel Drake says: "Of excavations we have but one; its depth is about twelve feet, its diameter fifty. It has the appearance of a half-filled well."

The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure, at the distance of 500 yards. Its present height is twenty-seven feet. It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two to one. Its circumference at the base is 440 feet. The earth for thirty or forty yards around it is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam thinner, from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface—an opinion confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to its centre, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil, with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattered and decayed human bones, a branch of a deer's horn, and a piece

of earthenware, containing muscle-shells. At the distance of 500 feet from this pyramid, in a north-easterly direction, is another, 9 feet high, circular, and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the centre of its base, without affording any thing but some fragments of human skeletons and a handful of copper beads which had been strung on a cord of lint. The mound at the intersection of Third and Main Streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connection with the lines that have been described. It was 8 feet high, 120 long, and 60 broad, of an oval figure, with its diameters lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. Its construction is well known, and whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance. The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex, and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire, and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed. Of the articles taken from thence, many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most worthy of notice:

1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite, and some other stones, cylindrical at the extremities, and swelled in the middle, with an annular groove near one end.

2. A circular piece of coal, with a large opening in the centre, as if to introduce a hand, and a number of small perforations regularly disposed in four equidistant lines.

3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations, and well polished.

4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

5. A sculptured representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle.

6. A mass of lead ore *(galena)*, lumps of which have been found in other tumuli.

7. Isinglass *(mica membranacea)*.

8. A small oval piece of sheet-copper, with two perforations.

9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the *American Philosophical Transactions;* and were supposed by Professor Barton to have been designed, in part for ornament, and in part for superstitious ceremonies.

Dr. Drake has since discovered in this monument,—

10. A number of beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

11. Teeth of a carnivorous animal, probably a bear.

12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus *buccinum*, cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils, and nearly converted into a state of chalk.

13. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concave convex plates; the interior one of each set connected with the other by a hollow axis, around which had been wound some lint; the whole encompassed by the bones of a man's hand. Several other articles resembling these have been found in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper, covered with the green

carbonate of that metal. After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specific gravities were found to be 7.545, and 7.857. Their hardness is about that of the sheet-copper of commerce. They are not engraven or embellished with characters of any kind.

14. Human bones. These were of different sizes, sometimes enclosed in rude stone coffins, but oftener lying blended with the earth, generally surrounded by a portion of ashes or charcoal.

Few or none of these works appear to me to have been forts. Their being situated on a hill is by no means a certain indication that they were so, particularly when it is recollected that most, if not all, of the places of religious worship in Greece, Rome, Judea, &c. were on high hills. Dr. Drake seems to think that the traces of ancient works on the internal lands in the Miami country are where these people had towns, which opinion appears to me highly probable.

ON THE

ORIGIN AND DATE

OF THE

ANCIENT WORKS OF OHIO.

By M. MALTE-BRUN.

We do not undertake to establish any positive hypothesis relative to those people whose ability sufficed to construct the *soi-disant* fortifications upon the Ohio, nor to the epoch at which they were constructed: our aim is rather a negative one, and we shall endeavour to reduce to their true value the exaggerated notions which the Americans have formed respecting these proofs of civilization existing antecedent to the arrival of the European colonies. The deluge, the Atlantides, with their empires, the Celts, the Phœnicians, the ten tribes of Israel, the Scandinavians,—even the migration of the Azteque people, when they founded the kingdom of Anahuac, none of these appear to us to bear any necessary relation to the monuments alluded to, simple and rustic in their nature, and, above all, local. Let us consider dispassionately the several characteristics of these monuments, and of the articles that have been discovered within their enclosure: the judicious reader will be enabled hence to form his own conclusion.

Form and Situation of the Enclosures.

Nothing, either in the elevation of the walls, or in the choice of the positions, indicates, on the part of the people who originated these works, a more warlike character, or a greater degree of power, than we should find possessed at this very day by the Iroquois, the Chipaway, and other tribes, if they enjoyed entire liberty at a distance from the Anglo-Americans. These works, indeed, are not at all comparable to those of Theocallis, in Mexico, either as regards construction or size. The only sign of regularity is in the union of a square with a circular enclosure, especially at Point Creek and Marietta, near Newark; and this arrangement has probably given rise to the idea of a religious destination of those structures. We think it is much more natural, in the cases mentioned, to regard the round fort as the dwelling of the cacique and his family, whilst the square enclosure would seem to have shut in the huts of the colony. It is thus that, in Siam, in Japan, and in the South Sea, we find the ruling family lodged in separate enclosures, though at the same time immediately contiguous to the towns or villages. The fortifications on the Little Miami present entrances extremely narrow, and so disposed that an enemy could not easily overlook them. If we imagine the whole of the enclosures surrounded with brambles, we have the fences mentioned by Gili in his Description of Guiana. In fact, all these forts are so situated as to have two places of egress, one upon the water, the other upon the champaign, which circumstance it is that has produced

for them the denomination of fortified villages. Had they been temples, they would have been less in number, and more picturesquely disposed.

But we pretend not to adopt this explanation exclusively. The round fort of Circleville, being equal in the area it described to the square one, might with some reason occasion a belief that the whole consisted of a sanctuary, with an enclosure in front, into which the mass of the people was admitted. The central elevations, with their ornaments, present the appearance either of an altar or a judgment-seat; but these similitudes are wanting in the other circular forts.

In the three circular tumuli communicating with the temple near Portsmouth, at the confluence of the Scioto and the Ohio, we are the rather tempted to recognize places devoted to sacrifice, inasmuch as nothing there indicates a place of habitation.

Two round hillocks, situated in the middle of a large enclosure, near Chillicothe *(Archæologia Americana)* combine perhaps the two destinations: one might have served as the base to some altar, or other religious structure; the other, to shut in the dwelling of a cacique. It appears to us that these distinctions merit some attention on the part of American antiquaries; and that, in examining these monuments, they should, as much as possible, excavate the ground, in order to discover whether some trace might not result from that process to indicate the especial destination of each.

Relations between the Tumuli and the Fortifications.

The American antiquaries have sometimes wished to distinguish the people who originated the tumuli, or artificial conic columns, from the founders of the *circular* or angular forts; but the facts cited by them with this view are not very conclusive.

It is certain, at a glance, that sepulchral hillocks of conical shape are spread over the whole of Russia, and part of Siberia, without the learned labours of Pallas, of Kappen, and others, being able to establish any very clear distinction between the several nations of which these simple and striking monuments cover the remains. We are assured that these tumuli are to be met with from the Rocky hills in the west, to the Alleghany mountains in the east.*

Those upon the Muskingum river have a base (formed of bricks well burnt), whereupon are found human bones calcined and intermixed with pieces of coal. Thus the people who erected these works first burned the bodies of their dead, and afterwards covered them with earth.

In the neighbourhood of Circleville was a tumulus near 30 feet high, and enclosing sundry objects which we will particularize hereafter.

In descending the Ohio, the tumuli increase in number. Some of them are of stone; but these appear to belong to the race of Indians actually existing.

We will speak of the skeletons found in these tumuli; but in confining ourselves to the consideration of the relative

* *Archæologia Americana*, vol. i.

position of tumuli and forts, we can no longer doubt the identity of the people who erected both one and the other.

Neither one nor the other imply a population numerous, powerful, or civilized; they presume nothing more than a tranquil possession of the country, such as, according to the native traditions reported by Heckwelder, the Allighhewi or Alleghanies had, before the invasion of the Leni-Lenaps and the Iroquois.

The approximation and similitude of these funeral mounds, these fortified villages, these privileged enclosures of caciques, and these altars or places of sacrifice, seem to us to indicate the prolonged inhabitation of the borders of the Ohio by one sole and identical people.

The skeletons found in our mounds, says Mr. Atwater,* never belonged to a people like our Indians. The latter are a tall, rather slender, straight-limbed people; the former were short and thick. They were rarely five feet high, and few indeed were six. Their foreheads were low, cheek-bones rather high: their faces were very short and broad: their eyes were likewise very large, and they had broad chins.†

These characterics appertain not either to the Iroquois race, to the Algonquin, the Nadowessian, or to that tribe which obtains in the northern part of the basons of the Mississipi and Missouri; but they assimilate, in all respects, to the conformation of the natives of Florida and of Brazil.

A human skull, of extraordinary magnitude, represented

* *Archæologia Americana*, vol. i. † Ibid.

in the *Archæologia*, exhibits several characteristics of the African negro race.

Body found in the caverns of Kentucky.

The calcareous rocks of Kentucky enclose numerous and large caverns, or recesses wherein nitre abounds, and, at all periods, an unusual degree of aridity. Here have been discovered several human bodies, of different sex and age, sometimes lightly buried *above* the surface of the ground and carefully enwrapped by various envelopes. One had four of these round it: the first, or outer covering, of deer-skin, probably dried in the usual way, and perhaps softened, before its application, by rubbing: the next covering is also a deer-skin, but whose hair had been cut away by a sharp instrument: the third wrapper is of coarse cloth, and the fourth likewise of cloth, but furnished with large brown feathers, arranged and fastened with great art, so as to be capable of guarding a living wearer either from wet or cold. The plumage is distinct and entire, forming a complete *habit of feathers*, and bearing a strong similitude to the cloaks still worn on the north-western coast.*

The body was preserved in a dry state resembling an Egyptian mummy, but there was nothing bituminous or aromatic in or about it. There was no sign of a suture or incision about the belly, whereby the entrails might have been extracted. Except the wrappers already mentioned, the body was quite naked—the skin, of a dusky colour, having sustained little injury. The corpse was in a squat-

* We shall make some further allusion to this circumstance.

ting posture, with the right hand encircling the leg, and the left arm hanging down partly under the seat.*

The learned American who has communicated this fact believes himself able to trace, in the conformation of this skeleton, a strong likeness "to the race of Malays peopling the isles of the great Pacific Ocean."

Similar *mummies* (as they denominate them in America) have been found in Western Tennessee.† The covering of feathers was not wanting; but the cloth was a kind of paper manufactured from the bark of trees or the leaves of plants. Several of these bodies lay in small square chambers, formed of projecting blocks of stone. In one of these reports we are told, that the hands appeared to have been of small dimension, a trait not characteristic of the Malays.

The position of these bodies, and the rocky chambers, recal to memory the *monument of Krivik*, of which we have given a description in the old *Annales des Voyages:* but they might both have been common to several nations: besides, the bodies of Krivik had no envelope, and their position was much more crooked; the chamber was also larger, and raised above the surface of the earth.

If these skeletons present the facial angle of the Malays, and the small hands of the Hindus, it is impossible to find any thing more completely opposed, in physical character, to the Scandinavians, the Germans, the Goths, and the Celts.

* Letter of Dr. Mitchill, *Archæologia*, p. 318. † *Idem*, p. 302.

Idols and other Sacred Objects.

We have given* the figure of an idol, or sacred vase, with three heads, found on the Cany fork of Cumberland river: we agree with several American antiquaries, who trace herein a modification of that idea of the Divine Trinity so generally obtaining throughout Asia, and particularly in India. But we would remind these gentlemen that a variety of the same doctrine has been proved to exist among a Malay tribe, the Otaheitans,—namely, a trinity composed of *Oromatta*, *Meidia*, and *Arva-te-Mani*. It would be important to trace out indications of a similar sort amongst the inhabitants of the Caroline and Sandwich islands, and of the north-west regions.

For the rest, this tri-faced idol has nothing, in point of physiognomy, which may be decidedly called Mongolian or Tartar, although the contrary is affirmed in the *Archæologia*. Its character is rather Indian or Malay.

It is the same with respect to the idol discovered at Lexington (Kentucky), and represented in the *Archæologia*, page 211. It is true, the manner of plaiting the hair, and the sort of *placenta* put upon the head, brings to mind the figure found in Southern Russia, and drawn by Pallas, but in physiognomy it differs from all the Tartar tribes.

We may notice, by way of exception to the above instance, the idol represented in the *New Annales des Voyages* and which, according to our conjecture, adopted by the learned M. de Humboldt, is intended for a *Bur-khan*, or

* *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, vol. xix. p. 248; *Archæologia*, pp. 238-9.

celestial spirit. It has the Mongolian physiognomy very strongly marked.*

One important trait distinguishes all the Mongolian, Chinese, and Malay idols from those figures regarded as having been the idols of the ancient people inhabiting the borders of the Ohio: the former have a fierce aspect, contorted features, and deformed shape—the latter, a physiognomy mild and tranquil.

It is much to be lamented, that several of these monuments were no sooner found than they were destroyed by sheer ignorance, or by unenlightened eagerness. One of the most curious, a figure found in Tennessee, has shared this fate. It was the bust, in marble, of a man holding before him a bowl with a fish in it.† Both the Chinese and Indian idols were in like manner represented bearing a fish.

No example is cited of an idol armed *en cuirassier*, as were those of the Scandinavians.

Works of Art.

The *Archæologia* gives drawings of several hatchets, points of javelins, and other warlike instruments in granite and other species of stone, as also of crystals, which probably served as ornaments: it speaks likewise of mirrors of *mica lamellaris*, together with sundry ornaments of gold, silver, and copper; but none of these are represented. The art most generally understood and most expertly practised amongst primeval races was doubtless that of pottery. The

* *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, Archæologia*, p. 215.

† Letter of Mr. Fiske, in the *Archæologia*, p. 307.

Archæologia has given drawings of several vases and other vessels, of argillaceous earth, very well shaped, and which had been hardened hy fire.* The urns appear to have been constructed of a composition similar to that with which we make our crucible.

Vases have likewise been found artistically shaped, of a species of *talc graphique*, resembling that of which the Chinese idols are formed: this substance is not known to the west of the Alleghany mountains, and these vases must therefore have come from a distance.

They made excellent bricks: at least, such have been found in the tumuli; but they were not used in the fortified enclosures, whose walls, on examination, present nothing but layers of earth, of stone, and of wood. Perhaps the manufacture of bricks was not so abundant as to occasion their employment in these constructions—or probably, the invention of the art of baking them was of late date. One is led to think that they built no houses of brick, since there exist no remains of any such. The sites of houses, or rather of cabins, are only recognisable by the kind of courts, of stamped earth, which must have served as fences. These cabins appear to have been ranged in parallel lines.†

But, of all the details relative to the arts practised by this ancient people, the most satisfactory is that respecting the woven wrappers of feathers in which the dead bodies, before spoken of, were found enveloped, precisely resembling the cloths of a similar kind mentioned by the Ame-

* *Archæologia*, p. 223, *et seq.*

† *Idem*, pp. 225, 311. &c.

rican navigators, as obtained in the Sandwich and Feejee islands, and in Wastash, or Nootka Sound.* The same skill is perceptible in fastening every feather to a thread issuing from the tissue; the same effect, with reference to preservation from humidity—water running from off it as from the back of a duck. The war which had been waged in the island of Toconraba (one of the Feejees) was decided by the intervention of certain Americans, who brought to New York a number of articles manufactured either in the Feejee, or in some other isles of the South sea. Not only these stuffs, but also sundry specimens of sculpture, or carving, in wood, were produced, and compared with similar articles found in the caverns of Kentucky and the *tumuli* of Ohio.†

This gift would be still more precious, if the American antiquaries had been equally careful to make drawings and engravings of these objects, as of the hatchets, vases, and other articles, of a character far less specific.

* Dr. Mitchill, in the *Archæologia*, p. 319.

† *New York Medical Repository*, vol. xviii. p. 187.

CONCLUSION.

We have collected all the matter which, in the various accounts of the antiquities of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, has struck us as tending to give to these relics of a remote race a specific historical character. We think our readers will agree with us as to the extreme difficulty of tracing, in the vague character of these simple and rustic monuments, any certain indication either of their origin or date.

Those works which have been held to relate to some sort of religious worship present to us an Asiatic character.

The best-defined specimens of art offer a Malay or Polynesian character. These two indications may lead to one and the same point. The people of Oceana flourished contemporaneously with those of Eastern Asia, and with those of the north-west coast of America.

Every ulterior conjecture as to the migration of this race in order to settle on the borders of the Ohio, would be entirely vague and useless, in our present state of knowledge.

The assembling of these people in large villages, situated in pleasant districts near the streams, and on a fertile soil, seems to imply that they were of agricultural habits, and had, at least in a great degree, abandoned the hunter's life. It does not appear that among the articles found in the *tumuli*, or in the caverns, there is any thing resembling implements of hunting. At the same time it would appear that

they possessed no species of cattle, since no vestiges either of horns or hides have been discovered.

The vases carved out of talc seem to imply a commerce with China, and consequently a state of peace and tranquillity. But who knows whether this kind of stone might not have been met with in some nearer country?

The epoch of the construction of what may be termed enclosed villages cannot date back beyond eight or nine hundred years; for in Europe the vestiges of earthen walls are no longer visible after this lapse of time. The tradition of the Lenilennaps, who place between the years 1100 and 1200 the expulsion of the Alleghewis by the naked and warlike hordes coming from the north, is therefore deserving of much confidence: at all events, it is far better worth attention than the vain hypotheses of the American antiquaries respecting the ten tribes of Israel, the Tartars, the Scandinavians, and the Mexicans.

The conclusions of several American antiquaries with regard to the age of the trees growing either upon or within these enclosures, tend to limit the epoch of their construction to a thousand years. This, however, is but an equivocal proof; for how is it possible to decide that these trees were not upon the spot previously?

The retreat of the Allighewis *toward the south*, after the destruction of their villages,—a retreat specified by the traditions of the Lenilennaps, — does not necessarily imply that they fled into Mexico, or even into what is now called Florida. It would be impossible that the place of

their retreat should be in the Two Carolinas, where their first columns would encounter numerous indigenous tribes.

The absence of all inscriptions whatsoever, although the country abounds in slates, proves that the Allighewis were ignorant of the art of writing. Had they been Scandinavians, not only would their flight have been in the direction of the north, on the side of New England, but they would have known the usage of the Runic people, and we should have found upon the Ohio *Runic stones*, as well as in Greenland.

Such are the very limited conclusions, to which it seems to us that a fair investigation of these monuments is calculated to lead, however pompously they have been announced in certain American works.

END OF VOL. I.

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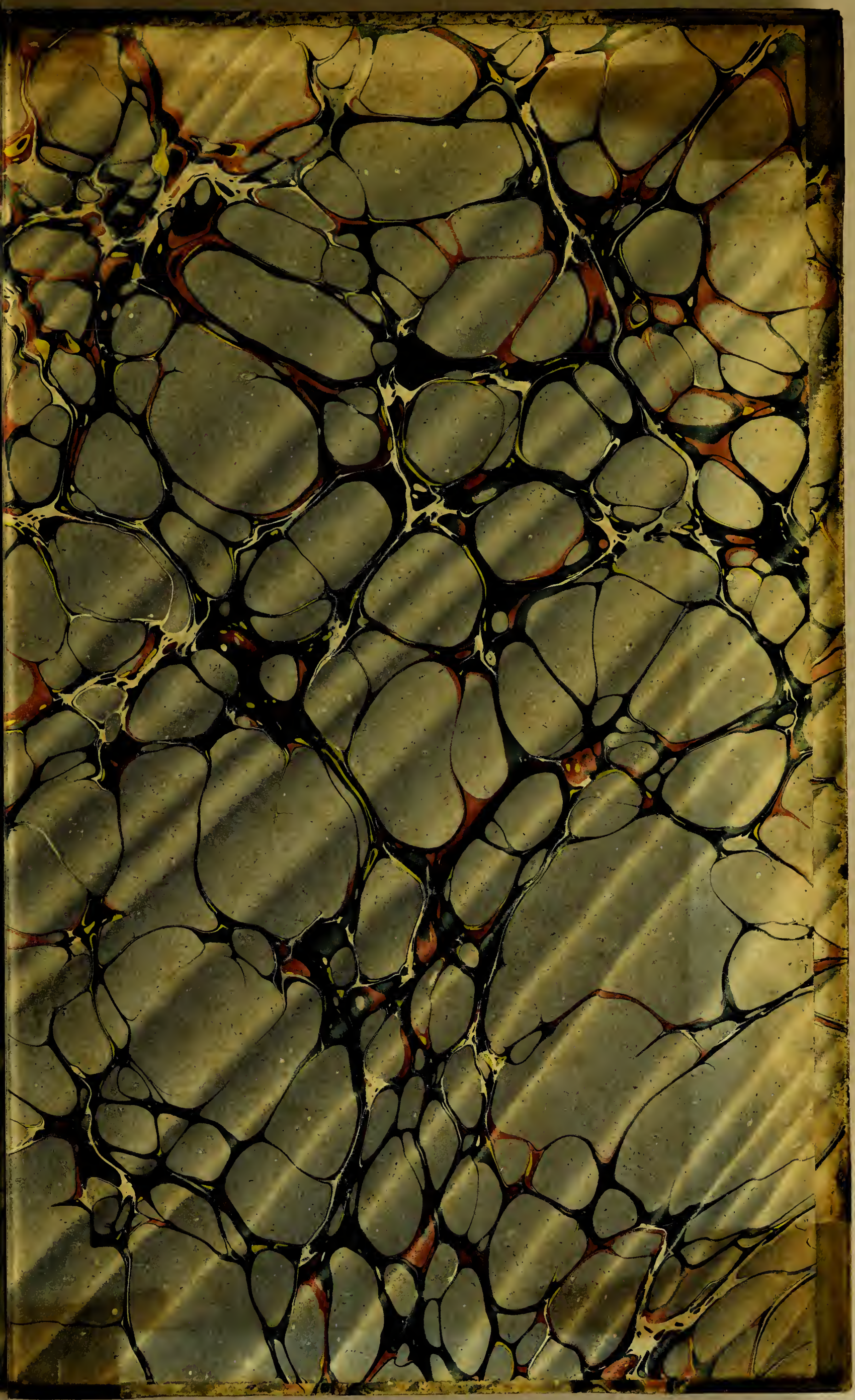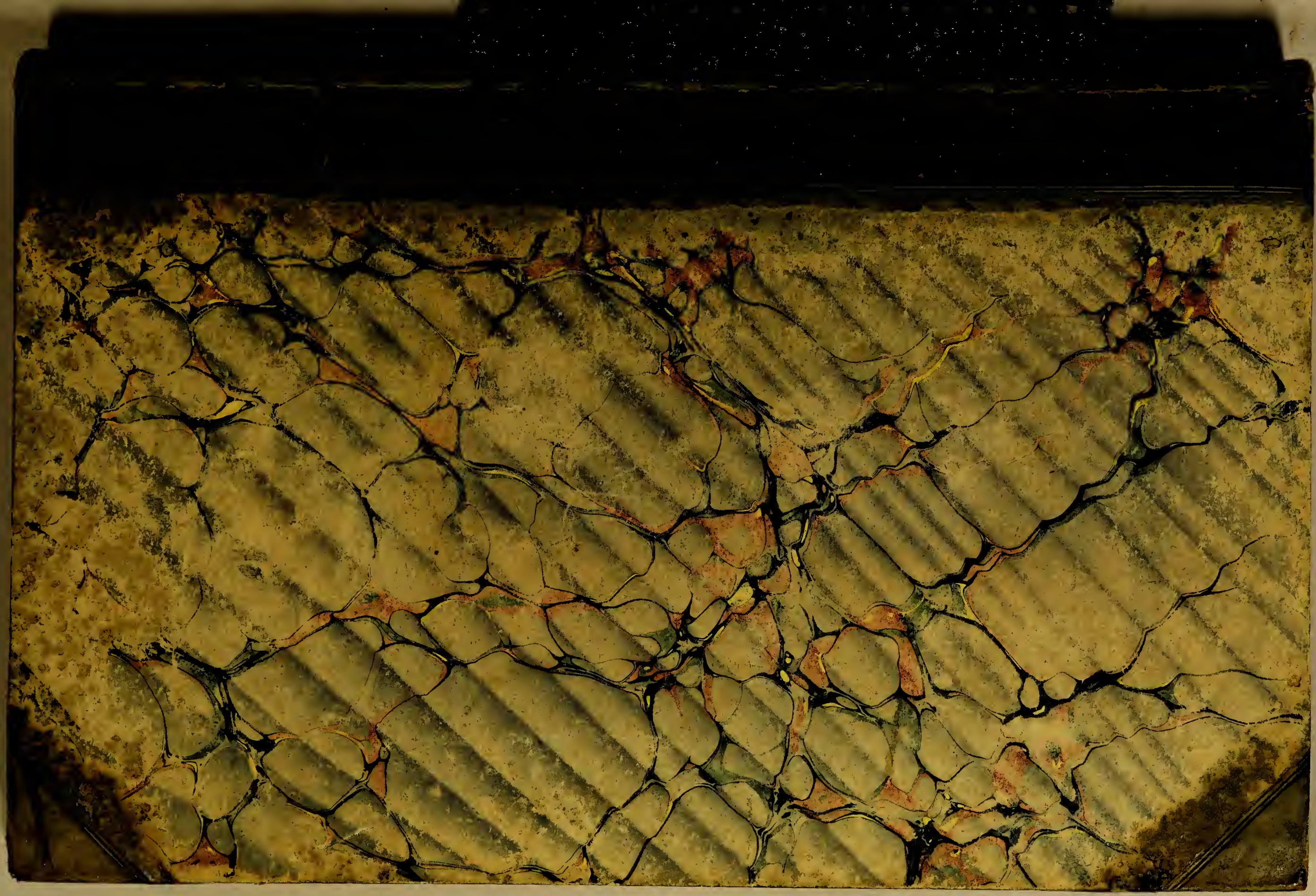
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